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• LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES •
OF

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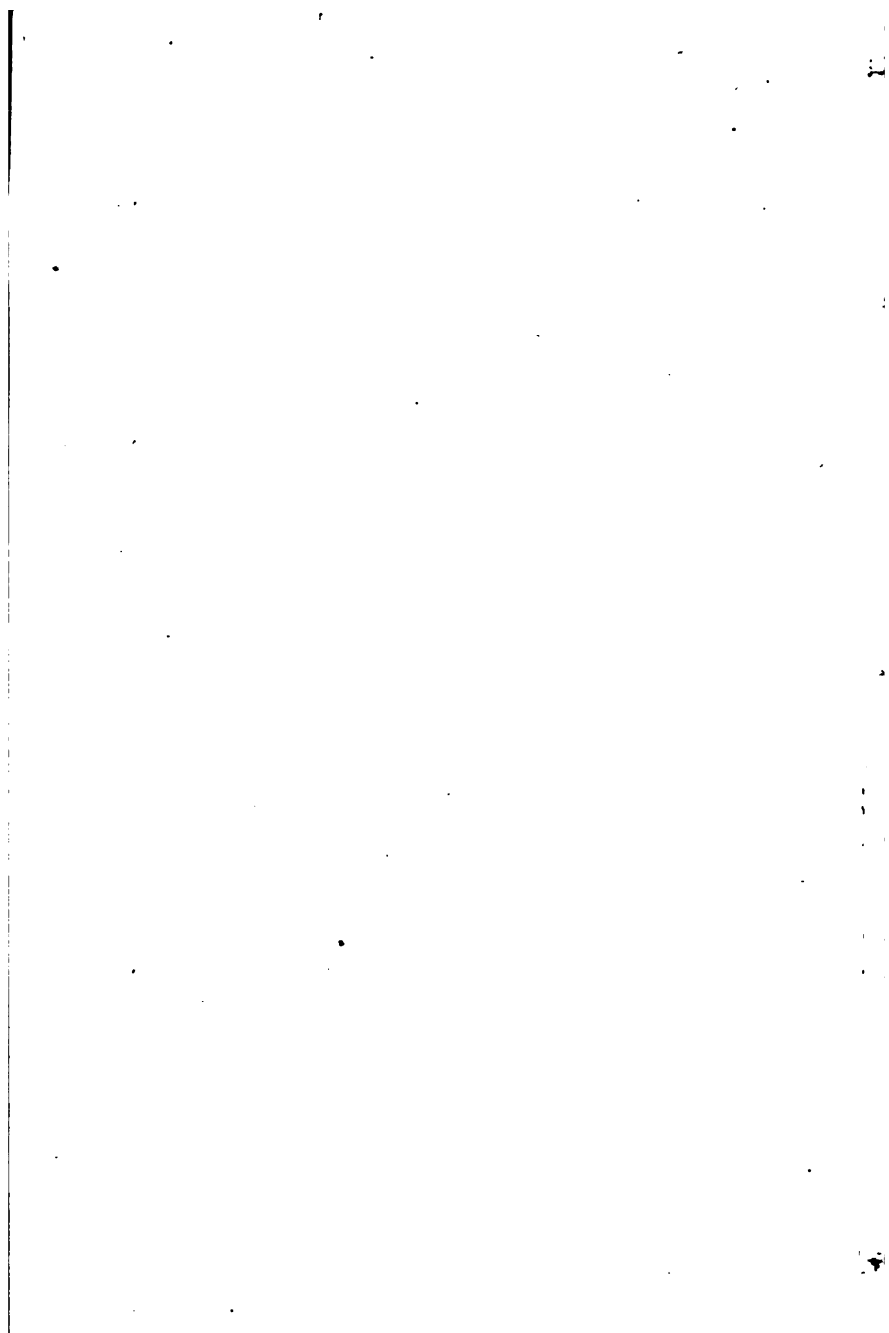
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George Huntington

THE
CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN SENATE
JANUARY 10, 1894.

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LIFE

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THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
Grover Cleveland,

WITH INCIDENTS OF HIS EARLY LIFE AND AN ACCOUNT
OF HIS RISE TO EMINENCE IN HIS PROFESSION;
ALSO CONTAINING HIS ADDRESSES AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS
AS MAYOR OF THE CITY OF BUFFALO AND GOVERNOR
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

"An honest government, honestly administered, in honest ways, by honest men."
CHARLES THOMAS RUSSELL.

BY FREDERICK E. GOODRICH,
AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED.

WILKES BARRE, PA.:
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1884.

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DEDICATION.



TO
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
WHO SEEK INTEGRITY IN PUBLIC STATION,
THIS SKETCH OF
A STRONG AND UPRIGHT LIFE
IS DEDICATED.



PREFACE.

Less than three years ago, Grover Cleveland was called to the service of the people in an executive capacity. He is now named for the highest office in the gift of the nation. Within these three years he has demonstrated a power and a capacity for administration that place him clearly among the foremost statesmen of our Republic.

In writing the history of these years as fully and completely as it should be written, there must be given the chronicle of a most remarkable work of municipal and State reform, accomplished mainly through the efforts of one strong and earnest man. This the author has endeavored to give with a completeness that shall leave nothing omitted from the shining record.

But, back of this period of prominent activity in public affairs, there lies the real life of the man, the years of boyhood and young manhood, in which were developed the character and the powers that later found their employment in the service of the State at the call of the people. This makes a story of strong endeavor, of earnest purpose, of struggle, and of success, which of itself possesses interest, and teaches an instructive lesson; for it tells of the development of a consistently upright character among difficulties and temptations, from which a less gifted man might be exempt.

PREFACE.

When called to the active and responsible administration of public affairs, Grover Cleveland carried into the service of the people the same qualities which had made him respected in private life. And, famous as he has become through his executive acts, the history of his administrations is simply the account of the fearless application of high-minded principle to the affairs of government. It is the life of an honest man that is here recited; and such a life requires neither exaggeration nor embellishment. It speaks for itself.

In preparing this narrative, the author has availed himself of all the authentic information obtainable concerning the early life and the professional career of Grover Cleveland; and he takes this occasion of tendering his thanks to those members of the family, neighbors and friends, who have so kindly placed material at his disposal. In the account of Mr. Cleveland's services as mayor of the city of Buffalo, and governor of the State of New York, being matter of recent political history, recourse has been had to the official records of the municipality and the State, and the author's acknowledgments are due to the officials who have courteously afforded him access to those important sources of information.

F. E. G.

INDEPENDENCE SQUARE,
BOSTON, JULY, 1884.

INTRODUCTION.

The desire for information touching the personal history and lives of those who have become distinguished in science, in art, in letters, in statesmanship, and in the attainment of those beneficial "victories of peace no less renowned than those of war," has been always so general, that it may be said to be natural.

We all—equally the high and the low, the cultivated and the uncultivated—want to know what manner of men these eminent people were; what may have been their personal appearance, and how they talked in private and bore themselves. The historian of every age has recognized the demands of this universal curiosity, and we are made familiar with the personal life of those who have been prominent in their day and generation.

The people of this country, more than any other, perhaps, desire such information respecting their *public* men, because they become candidates for elective offices, and the voter naturally wants to know of those who solicit his vote. Under forms of government where the people have little to say or do touching appointments to public office, there

would be more indifference, and, consequently, less inquisitiveness.

When the country is called to fill the great office of president, to select from the citizens one who is to administer the government for nearly sixty millions of people, this desire for information concerning the candidates is something more than the curiosity which has been referred to. Such information is needed to enable political parties to ascertain if their principles and views of public policy will be properly represented in the Government before casting their votes. It has therefore been usual to publish, for the instruction and guidance of electors, the history and lives of aspirants for the presidency, that their claims may be understood and appreciated.

There is at this time especial reason for following the usage, as the issue upon which the presidential election will probably be made is the personal character of the candidates. Nearly all the important questions which make the platforms of the two parties—even the grave questions of tariff, and finance, and civil service reform—are subordinated to those of the personal merits of the nominees.

The ordinary demand, therefore, for information respecting them is thus greatly increased. The voters want their history, as their qualifications and fitness for office are to be tested by what they have said and done.

This book is written to supply this demand respecting the candidate of the Democracy.

The Democratic party has ever declared for *principles*, rather than *men*. It has thought it of little consequence

who administered the government, provided it was well administered, and UPON the principles of the immortal Declaration as the Fathers who organized the government intended. But at this time there are reasons which require the Democracy to give consideration to men as well as principles.

The Republican party has been demoralized by its long and undisturbed tenure of power, and is thoroughly corrupt. It has become recreant to its former record. It is no longer what it was. It has forgotten its promises and pledges. It cannot now claim, for its inspiration, patriotism, nor for its object good government. Notwithstanding its proud, but arrogant boast, that the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the integrity of the government were its own exclusive work, it has done all it could since the close of the civil war, in order to perpetuate its possession of power, to alienate the two sections of the country, to embitter the North against the South and prevent the development of those sentiments of compatriotism and mutual attachment, which make the only solid basis of political union.

This is not partisan denunciation. Great numbers of the best and most patriotic of the Republicans have denounced their party for its many abuses and abominations, and because of them have left it. Now that it has nominated for its presidential candidate one who fitly represents its present degraded and corrupt condition, one whose official record shows him to be wanting in most of the essential qualifications for the proper execution of the great trusts reposed in

the Executive department of the government, so many dissatisfied Republicans have repudiated the nomination, that the desertion may properly be called a *revolt*.

These have expressed their determination to support the Democratic nominee, because of his superior merits and claim to the high office, and they will unite with the Democracy in demanding reform of the many abuses which have permeated the different departments of government. This great work accomplished, attention can be given to the important political questions set forth in the platforms of both parties.

Governor Cleveland is, therefore, not only the presidential candidate of the Democracy, but the candidate of thousands and tens of thousands of the best and most patriotic of the Republicans who have now organizations, or will soon have them, in most of the States of the Union.

As has been stated, in consequence of the peculiar political situation, and especially of the dangerous character of the Republican nominee and his disgraceful record of official corruption, the personal merits of the two candidates will make the chief issue of the election.

The Democrats gladly accept this issue, although many, like the writer, would have preferred that the sense of the country in the contest should be taken upon the tariff and civil service questions; for they are most grave, as one of them affects the prosperity of the country through its operation upon all its industries, and the other the maintenance, it may be, in the not distant future, of the government itself.

We are willing to go to the country on this personal issue. We are willing it should say which candidate it prefers. Let it consider both of them. The story of each is before it.

The record of James G. Blaine, as newspaper editor, as Chairman of the Maine State Republican Committee, as Member of Congress, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, as Secretary of State of the United States, is now matter of history.

The record of Grover Cleveland is found in his faithful administration of the mayoralty of Buffalo; in his honest administration of the great office of Governor of the Empire State of New York, an office next in importance and power to that of the Presidency of the United States; in the respect and affection with which he is regarded by his "troops of friends" in every part of the country; and in the fear with which he is held by all rings and speculators, and the enemies of good government.

In the words of the address to the country of the Independent Republicans, who reject the nominee of their party, "it offers a candidate who is an unfit leader, shown by his own words and his acknowledged acts, which are of official record, to be unworthy of respect and confidence. Who has traded upon his official trust for his pecuniary gain; a representative of men, methods and conduct which the public conscience condemns, and which illustrate the very evils which honest men would reform. Such a nomination does not promise in the executive chair inflexible official integrity and wise judgment, a sole regard for the public welfare and an unshrinking determination to promote reform in the civil

service, and ceaselessly to pursue and punish public robbers of every kind and degree."

Grover Cleveland, on the contrary, has all the qualities, mental and moral, which make a statesman—all the essentials for the successful administration of a government like ours. He has that most valuable talent—sound common sense, quick perceptions, a clear and vigorous logic, a conscientious regard for truth, and courageous determination to follow where duty leads, whatever the consequences to himself.

Mr. Tilden, in the eloquent and pathetic letter in which he refuses to be a candidate for the presidency, truthfully observes, "that there is no instrumentality in a human society so potential in its influence upon man for good or evil, as the governmental machinery for administering justice, and for making and executing the laws."

Grover Cleveland shows by his record as governor of the State of New York, that he fully appreciates the wisdom of the observation; for all his official action exhibits his deep conviction of the importance of the great trust committed to his care, and his constant solicitude to execute it, so that the benefits to be derived from good governments may be secured to the people.

We have the judgment of the Independent Republicans on James G. Blaine, in the extract from their address to the country. Let us give their opinion of Grover Cleveland, by another quotation from the same paper.

"While the Republican nomination presents a candidate whom we cannot support, the Democratic party presents one

whose name is the synonym of political courage and honesty, and of administrative reform. He has discharged every official trust with sole regard to the public welfare, and with just disregard of mere partisan and personal advantage, which, with the approbation and confidence of both parties, have raised him, from the chief executive of a great city, to that of a great State. His unreserved, intelligent, and sincere support of reform in the civil service has firmly established that reform in the State and the cities of New York; and his personal convictions, proved by his official acts more decisive than any possible platform declaration, are the guarantee that in its spirit and in its letter, the reform would be enforced in the national administration. His high sense of duty, his absolute and unchallenged official integrity, his inflexible courage in resisting party pressure and public outcry, his great experience in the details of administration, and his commanding executive ability and independence are precisely the qualities which the political situation demands in the chief executive officer of the government to resist a corporate monopoly on the one hand, and demagogue communion on the other; and at home and abroad, without menace or fear, to protect every right of American citizens, and to respect every right of friendly States by making political morality, and private honesty the basis of constitutional administration."

Thus, according to Republican testimony, Grover Cleveland is every way fitted to administer the great office for which he has been nominated by the National Democratic Convention, so that, should he fail of election, or, if elected, fraudulently deprived of his office, it can be said of him, as was said of the Roman statesman, he was competent to rule if he did not rule. *Capax imperii si non regnavit.*

FREDERICK O. PRINCE.

BOSTON, July, 1884.

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THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
GROVER CLEVELAND.

CHAPTER I.

The Cleveland Family.—Aaron Cleveland Settles in the Connecticut Valley.—Franklin Writes his Obituary.—An Early Antislavery Man.—Stories of Grover Cleveland's Great-Grandfather.—Father Cleveland's Work in Boston.—Richard Falley Cleveland Graduates at Yale College and Enters the Ministry.—His Marriage and Settlement at Caldwell, New Jersey.

In the Presbyterian parsonage, a modest, two-story dwelling, in the little village of Caldwell, near Newark, New Jersey, a son was born to the worthy minister on the eighteenth day of March, 1837. This child, the fifth with which the parents had been blessed since their marriage in Baltimore, in 1829, was named Stephen Grover Cleveland, in pleasant memory of the Rev. Stephen Grover, who had formerly occupied the parsonage and preached the undiluted gospel to the villagers of Caldwell.

This boy, entering the world in which he was later to fill so large and distinguished a place by such an obscure gateway in rural New Jersey, came of good stock and of

sturdy ancestry. The line in which he descended was one that might inspire any of its members with an honest pride of birth. Not that it was traceable to titled or landed nobility in the Old World, for there was nothing of the sort; not that it had the prestige of inherited wealth, for the Clevelands, as far back as the family records run, had never manifested a talent for amassing riches. But it was a family in which intellect was the distinguishing characteristic, with strong purpose and honest manhood shown in the life of each of its representatives. In this Republic, where character is the only patent of nobility, it may truly be said that Grover Cleveland's ancestors were entitled to a high place in our democratic peerage.

The stock from which this family came was that of the sturdy settlers in the Connecticut valley. Among those subjects of King George who earliest established themselves along that river, and contested the possession of its rights with their rivals, the Dutch, was Aaron Cleveland. He was a loyal subject and an ardent churchman. Possessed of a liberal education, and of ambition to make use of his talents in that line which seems to have been always most congenial to the Clevelands—the ministry—he returned to England to take orders. At this time, in the early half of the eighteenth century, no bishop of the Church of England was resident in America; and Aaron Cleveland made the long and, at that time, perilous voyage to England for the purpose of confirmation in holy orders. Returning to America he devoted himself to the work of the ministry at East Haddam, on the Connecticut river, where he established his family, and where, on the 9th of February, 1744, a son was born, who was christened Aaron Cleveland, after his father. This son of the Episcopal clergyman, born in the settlement on the banks of the Connecticut, was the great-grandfather of Grover Cleveland.

Dr. Aaron Cleveland, the father, continued his work in the ministry for fourteen years after the birth of this son, securing recognition in the Church, and the friendship and esteem of the leading public men of that time. He died at the house of Benjamin Franklin, at Philadelphia, to which city he had been called on business connected with the Church. In the Philadelphia Gazette of August 18, 1757, published by Franklin, there appeared the following mention of Dr. Cleveland's death, which shows the estimation in which the character of the man was held :

"On Thursday last, after a lingering illness, died here the Rev. Mr. Cleveland, lately appointed to the mission at Newcastle by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. As he was a gentleman of a humane and pious disposition, indefatigable in his ministry, easy and affable in his conversation, open and sincere in his friendship, and above every species of meanness and dissimulation, his death is greatly lamented by all who knew him as a loss to the public, a loss to the Church of Christ in general, and in particular to that congregation who had proposed to themselves so much satisfaction from his late appointment among them, agreeable to their own request."

On the death of the first Aaron Cleveland, the son bearing the same name returned to the Connecticut colony. He did not, however, settle at his birthplace, but established himself in the town of Norwich, where, in obedience to the family trait of self-reliance, he first turned his hand to setting himself up in a trade which should produce for him a livelihood, and made hats. He was successful as a hatter ; but he had inherited from his father a taste for intellectual pursuits, and had, moreover, received as thorough an education as the Episcopal clergyman could secure for his son in that new country, and he soon found opportunity for enlarging his field of endeavor.

While in business in Norwich he was chosen to represent that town in the Legislature, and there he made his mark as an active anti-slavery man. Indeed, his place in the records and traditions of the town is not that of a successful hatter so much as it is that of a versatile speaker, writer, and actor in the politics of that time. He introduced in the Legislature a bill for the abolition of slavery, and was the leader in the movement, if not the first advocate of this reform.

He was a man of strong character, who marked out his life for himself according to the dictates of his own conscience; and it is not surprising to find him, although born and brought up in the tenets of the English church, finally separating himself from the ecclesiastical preferences of his father and seeking his lifework in the ministry of the Congregational denomination. This was doubtless in some measure due to his strong feelings in regard to slavery, which in those days was tolerated by the English church, but against which the Congregationalism of the New England colonies determinedly battled. For Aaron Cleveland was a strong partisan, believed what he had to believe with his whole soul, and set his face like a flint against that which he thought to be wrong, or tending to wrong. Such, at least, is the testimony of the sparse records of the life of the great-grandfather of Grover Cleveland.

Tradition is yet more generous with reminiscences of this man. He was a strong Federalist in politics, later on; and, although a clergyman, did not hesitate—as, indeed, is the case of clergymen of these as well as of those earlier days—to take part in politics or to let his views be known whenever there was occasion. His son George shared his independence of thought, and when ready to set out for himself in the world, emigrated to Vermont and took orders as an Episcopal clergyman, also allying himself with the

Jeffersonian party in the political contest which then was strong and bitter. Father and son were on perfectly good terms, and visits were exchanged. On his return from one of these, a neighbor asked of the father :

“Well, Mr. Cleveland, how did you find George?”

“Poorly enough ! He has joined the Episcopalans and become a Democrat.”

Aaron Cleveland had in full measure that sharp humor which goes with strong, aggressive character ; and several of the anecdotes which have been attributed to other divines of later years really have him for their hero. There is that notable one of the encounter of the parson and the Jeffersonian propagandist on the highway, the former mounted on his horse, the latter trudging by the way :

“Good-morning, priest,” remarks the man.

“Good-morning, Democrat,” retorts the ready witted parson. “But how do you know that I am a priest?”

“By your dress. But how did you know I was a Democrat?”

“By your address.”

It is also this Aaron Cleveland of whom one of the chroniclers of the ecclesiastical jokes current about New Haven, tells the story that, after having visited the graveyard in which the notables of the place were buried, and having carefully studied the fulsome epitaphs, he scribbled on the gate of the sacred inclosure the couplet which has since become famous :

“Here lie the dead,
And here the living lie.”

Rev. Aaron Cleveland died in New Haven in 1815, full of years, respected and beloved. One of his sons, Charles, who was born in 1772, became noted in the ministry. He established himself in Boston, where his work as City Missionary will be long remembered. He lived to a very ad-

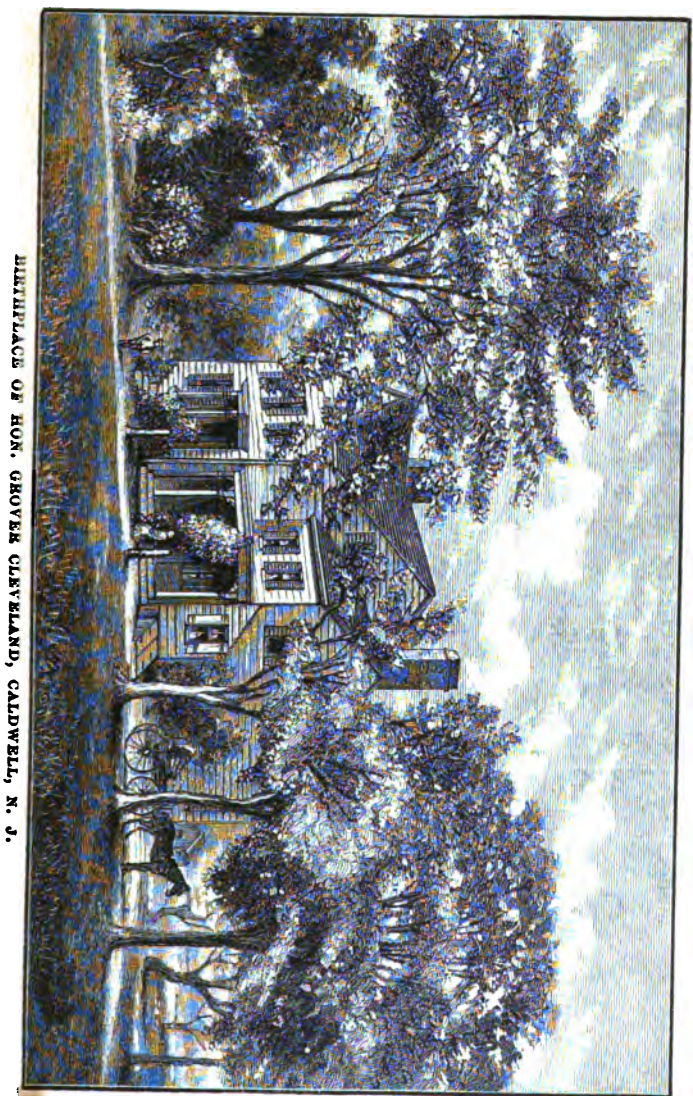
vanced age, lacking only seventeen days of one hundred years at the time of his death. A daughter, the youngest of thirteen children, married Dr. Samuel H. Cox, whose son, Arthur Cleveland Cox, is Episcopal Bishop of Western New York.

The second son of the Congregational minister of Norwich, William Cleveland, learned the trade of silversmith, established his household in the locality known as Bean Hill, in the town of Norwich, prospered in business, held for twenty-five years the office of deacon in the church in which his father used to preach, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of his townsmen. He married Margaret Falley, and his second son, whom he named Richard Falley Cleveland, was sent to Yale College, from which he graduated in 1824.

The family tradition of the Clevelands seems to have been to equip the children for struggle with the world in the best manner possible. At least, the practice was always this: If there was not enough money for a higher education, the boys got what their parents could afford, and then were set to useful work. And the result was, as we have seen, that one after the other made his work pay for his education, and brains and hands labored together in one generation after another.

This time it was Richard Falley Cleveland, Grover Cleveland's father, who got the benefit of the college education. He was born at Norwich in 1804. One of his boyish associates was his cousin, William E. Dodge, with whom he worked in one of the Norwich factories. Dodge went to New York, grew rich in the iron business, and is now remembered as a philanthropist as well as one of our most successful merchants. Young Cleveland had his chance at college, and graduated from Yale with high honors at the age of nineteen.

Then, as so many young graduates do, he set about earn-



RESIDENCE OF HON. GROVER CLEVELAND, CALDWELL, N. J.

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ing his first money by teaching. This took him to Baltimore, where he was engaged as tutor, and where he formed a more important engagement with Anne Neale, the daughter of a law-book publisher of that city.

The young man's attachment for Miss Neale did not, however, divert him from the main purpose of his life. He had gone to college to fit himself for the ministry, and this end must first be attained. The money earned by a year's teaching in Baltimore, enabled him to enter and pursue a course of theology at Princeton, at the conclusion of which he was ordained a minister of the Presbyterian church and settled over his first charge at Windham, Connecticut. The following year—as soon, in fact, as he had become settled over his church—he returned to Baltimore and claimed the hand of Anne Neale as his bride. This was in 1829.

Perhaps in deference to the preferences of his young wife, who was a charming type of Southern woman, he sought a field of labor in that section; for we soon hear of him as settled over a pastorate in Portsmouth, Virginia.

In the mean time, children were coming to the young couple. Two daughters and two sons were born to them, when the clergyman, with his young and growing family, again changed his field of labor, going to his third pastorate in the village of Caldwell, New Jersey.

CHAPTER II.

The Birth of Grover Cleveland.—His Brothers and Sisters.—How He Got His Name.—The Congregational Parsonage at Caldwell, New Jersey. — Removal to Fayetteville, New York. — A Journey by Boat and Canal.—Life at Fayetteville.—School and College at Clinton. — In a Country Store. — Removal to Holland Patent.—Death of Grover Cleveland's Father.

Here at Caldwell, as has been said, Grover Cleveland was born. He was the fifth child of his parents, whose family subsequently increased to nine.

It will be seen, by the foregoing sketch of the Cleveland family, that it was no inferior stock from which this boy sprang. As far back as the early colonial days, his ancestors were of sturdy stuff, intellectually and morally. From Aaron Cleveland, the friend of Franklin, to Richard, the father of Grover, they had been men of mind and of character, doing their lifework honorably and honestly, and making their mark in their time.

The family of children of which Grover Cleveland was one has not done discredit to their name. The oldest daughter, Anna, married Dr. Hastings, the missionary, and has accomplished a great work in the distant field of Ceylon. The eldest son, William, was educated at Hamilton College, and is now a Presbyterian minister at Forestport, New York. The youngest sister, Rose, is a lady of distinguished literary attainments, whose lectures on historical and kindred subjects are sought by educational institutions of high rank. Of the other children, the

sisters married well, and the brothers, Richard Cecil and Louis Frederick, after serving honorably in the war, established and conducted for a time the great hotel at Nassau. On their return from a visit to the United States, they were lost at Sea by the burning of the steamer Missouri, off the Bahama Islands, in 1872.

It seems to have been the fashion in the Cleveland family to call the children by their middle names. Richard Cecil was called Cecil; Louis Frederick was called Fred; Rose Elizabeth was called Libby; and so Stephen Grover was, from the day of his christening, called Grover. When he arrived at years of discretion, he dropped altogether the name which had never really belonged to him, and was formally, what he had always been known as, simply Grover Cleveland.

It was a lusty boy who came into the Congregational parsonage on that bleak March day, to add another to the cares of the mother and the responsibilities of the father of the household. All the Cleveland children were stout and well made. There was not a weakling in the little flock. Healthy in body they were well cared for, and judiciously trained, physically and mentally. Grover was no exception to the rest. He had that best of all gifts with which to enter the world, a sound constitution, inherited from healthy parents. And he had, moreover, the advantage of clever brothers and sisters with whom to grow up and learn to share in labors and privileges.

The new comer was made welcome to his place in the young family. None of the children were so old as to be out of sympathy with the curious interest which a baby excites in all the household. The eldest daughter was of an age to assist the mother in many of her family cares, and frequently relieved her of the responsibility of the children, of the routine household duties. And so, in the quiet,

peaceful village existence, the babyhood of Grover Cleveland was passed.

Caldwell was a small village at that time. Even now, although situated not more than nine miles from the city of Newark, it does not number three thousand souls. When Richard Cleveland preached in the Congregational Church there, the number was much smaller. It was a contracted field for his talents, and it did not offer the advantages in other ways which were deemed desirable. Hence it was that, when the baby Grover was but three years old, the father accepted a call to the Presbyterian Church at Fayetteville.

This was not much of an advance for the hard-working clergyman, from a worldly point of view, as Fayetteville was then, as now, only a flourishing village, and neither the compensation of the clergyman nor the opportunity for distinction was great. But the pecuniary advantage was something, though slight, and every dollar was of account to the poor clergyman, bravely contending to wrest from a hard world a living and an education for his large and increasing family. So the call was accepted, and the journey was undertaken.

Fayetteville is situated in the State of New York, not far from Syracuse, and the removal of the Cleveland family to its new home from the New Jersey village was an undertaking of no inconsiderable magnitude, especially in those days, before the era of quick and easy railroad transportation.

The journey was made for nearly its entire distance by water; not by the fast and gorgeous steamers that now make the trip up and down the Hudson a sort of pleasure ride in a moving palace, but by slow sailing craft up the great river until the canal was reached, and thence by slower and less romantic packet along the great line of

terior water transportation. The journey by river and canal to Fayetteville was a tedious one ; but there was this advantage about it, that the family was not separated during the trip, and the household goods and chattels were taken all together along with them at the same time.

The village of Fayetteville was reached at last, in the middle of a Saturday night ; and, as the strict Presbyterian sentiment of the community, as well as the feelings of the pastor himself, forbade labor on the Sabbath day, the household furniture and goods were left lying where they were landed from the canal-boat, and the Cleveland family were housed over Sunday under the hospitable roof of one of their parishioners. Not until Monday morning was the work of settling in the new parsonage undertaken.

Here, in the village of Fayetteville, was the home of the Cleveland family for nine years. Here other children were born and the family life took shape. The father was beloved and respected by his church and the entire community. The mother proved herself all that even the most exacting demands upon the pastor's wife required her to be. Her memory is still cherished among the villagers as that of a model helpmeet of the pastor, a tender mother and, not the least of her many virtues in the minds of the people, a careful housekeeper.


Grover Cleveland attended the village school at Fayetteville with the rest of the children, and they were all bright boys and girls. Nothing seems to have distinguished Grover in these pinafore days from other healthy and hearty boys. He was pretty much the same as the rest, although the village traditions concerning Parson Cleveland's family credit them all with more intelligence than the average.

But at length the father's health showed signs of failing. He had been a hard worker all his life. He had given the best he had to give to the demands of his high calling. And

he had also persevered through struggles of no little hardship in bringing up his large family. There were many mouths to be fed, many feet to be shod, many schoolbooks to be supplied. He had labored early and late, and his noble wife had cheerfully seconded his efforts; and while they both had the satisfaction of duty well done, the strain of hard work for these many years had begun to tell upon the constitution of the father.

Hence it was that Mr. Cleveland sought a change at the close of his nine years of faithful, pastoral work at Fayetteville. Moreover, the village schools offered by no means the opportunity he desired for the education of his children; and, as it was his purpose to provide them with as full a mental equipment for their lifework as possible, in place of the wealth which was not his to give, he endeavored to make such a change as would place him within easier reach of educational advantages.

Mr. Cleveland's talents and his conscientious devotion to the work of the ministry had been observed and appreciated by the church in which he labored, and as an evidence of this the American Home Missionary Society offered him an agency, with the privilege of a residence at Clinton. The salary attached to this position was only \$1,000 a year, but this was considerably in advance of the pay which he had received in the Fayetteville pastorate, and, indeed, to the poor clergyman seemed a liberal income on which to keep and educate a family of nine children. The work of this position was also less wearing than that of the pastor of a village congregation. At Clinton, too, were Hamilton College and Houghton Seminary and a preparatory school, where his children could obtain the advantages which he sought for them. He therefore accepted the offer of the missionary society, and removed his family to Clinton, where he took up his residence.



This was in 1851. Grover was about fourteen years old, and he at once entered the preparatory school to fit himself for a college course. His brother William, who was intending to enter the ministry, studied at Hamilton College, from which he graduated and adopted the profession of his father. But when Grover had nearly finished the preparatory course, his father, feeling in some degree the pinch of an insufficient income in supporting so large a family, and also judging that a little experience of the world of work as well as that of study would not be disadvantageous to his younger son, suggested he set to work for a year or two and earn a little money for himself.

As Grover was at this time under the age required for entrance to college—on which, however, his heart was determinedly set—the proposal of his father was manifestly reasonable. And Grover Cleveland was not the boy to stay at home and eat the bread that his father earned so hardily, when he had the opportunity to lend a helping hand himself.

So, after some preliminary negotiation, the place for the boy was found in the village store at Fayetteville, the owner of which was one of Mr. Cleveland's leading parishioners in the days before his removal to Clinton, and who had doubtless more or less grateful remembrance of the liberal trade he had received from the minister's large family during his nine years' residence in Fayetteville. For his services in this country store, the boy Grover was to receive fifty dollars the first year and an hundred dollars the second; and with this understanding he left Clinton and its college with something of regret, and went back to serve as clerk in the village where he had spent his younger years.

That the two years occupied in the Fayetteville store were uneventful, is of course to be understood by all who have any knowledge of what the general store of a country village is. Grover proved himself industrious, faithful, and

well conducted in every way ; and little more than this can be gathered from the recollections of those who knew him at this time. He left behind him a reputation for fidelity, industry and open-heartedness, which remains to this day ; and that is enough for a boy of fifteen to make for himself. It is these qualities, developed in a broader way in the man that have made him so widely admired and respected.

At the close of his two years' service in the Fayetteville store, Grover returned to Clinton and took up his studies where he had left them, all the stronger and better for his experience. But his father had not received the benefit to his health which he had expected in this place, and as the continued failing of his powers warned him to still greater care of himself, he decided to again settle in a small and quiet place as pastor, and give up the agency of the missionary society, which required of him much traveling and frequent absences from his family and the comforts of his home. He therefore accepted a call to the pastorate of a little hamlet on the Black River railroad, a few miles from Utica, known as Holland Patent.

To this delightfully rural and quiet place, Mr. Cleveland removed with his family in the early autumn of 1853, and entered at once upon the duties of the pastorate. But he had taken the step too late. He was worn out when he went there. Three Sundays only had he preached to his new congregation, when one day the lamp of his life suddenly went out. He died with the harness on.

Grover Cleveland was walking with his sister in the streets of Utica, unsuspecting the approach of the calamity that would change the whole course of his life, when the news of his father's death was brought to him. He went home sad and thoughtful, with new responsibilities and new duties rising before him, and comforted his widowed mother as best he could in this the first time that death had invaded their happy household.



GROCERY STORE, FAYETTEVILLE, N. Y.—CLEVELAND A CLERK.

CHAPTER III.

A Change in Grover Cleveland's Life.—He Sets to Work.—The New York Institution for the Blind.—Determines to be a Lawyer.—Off for the West to seek his Fortune.—Farmer Townsend's Timely Loan.—Cleveland, Ohio, his objective Point.—A Visit at Buffalo.

Grover Cleveland was fifteen years old when his father died. This event changed the whole course of his life. Had the worthy clergyman been spared longer for this world, it is by no means improbable that the boy, who bore the name of the Presbyterian clergyman, and was thus, after a manner, marked for the ministry from his birth, would have had his career shaped, like that of his elder brother, in the profession of his father. There was ever a tendency in the Cleveland family toward the church. Each generation had its prominent clergyman, and each of these preached the gospel from pure love of the work, accumulated no wealth, and left only good works and a good name as a legacy to their children and mankind.

The father of Grover Cleveland had been equally fortunate with his ancestors. He died respected and beloved, leaving nine children as a bequest to the world in which he had labored, and little else to his family.

The boy found himself with a mother who now needed, more than ever before, the help which her sons could give her, and with a family of sisters and younger brothers to be cared for and educated; for the father had always insisted that his children should be as well prepared for their

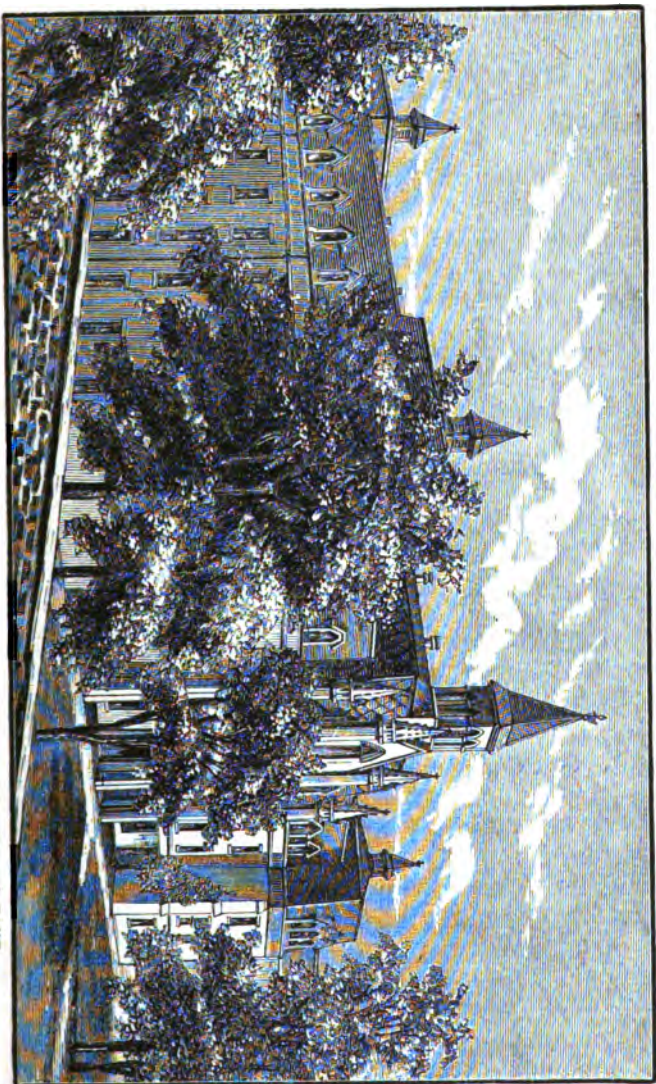
lifework as he could help them to be, and his earnings in the not lucrative occupation of a country clergyman, had all been invested in that way.

He did not hesitate. There was no time to lose, and at once put his hand to the work which he saw before him. His elder brother, William, was at that time an instructor in the Institution for the Blind in New York. The late Augustus Schell was at the head of that Institution, and to him Grover Cleveland made application for employment. Much to his gratification, he was successful, and for two years he performed clerical duties, chiefly as assistant to his brother, in the Institution.

It was not, of course, a lucrative position; and, moreover, it had nothing of promise in the way of advancement. The boy had ambition. He felt in himself a fitness for better things, for a more enlarged career; and, with the purpose of launching out for himself, and realizing his desire of being a lawyer, he surrendered his position in New York and returned for a short time to his mother's house at Holland Patent, until he could perfect his plans for entering the great world.

There was another boy in the little town, who had a similar ambition, and together they decided to seek their fortunes, not in the great city of which young Cleveland had sought his first experience, but in the exactly opposite direction. Together, then, they set out for the great West.

The Clevelands were, like many clergymen's families, far from well supplied with this world's goods, and the son who now left his mother's roof on his final departure, was obliged to ask from an old friend of his father the means with which to pay the expenses of his journey. His earnings during his services in New York had been dutifully contributed to the general fund for the family support, and he had little or nothing put by for himself.



INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND, NEW YORK CITY.—GROVER CLEVELAND AN ASSISTANT.

The friend at whose hands he asked this assistance was Hon. Ingham Townsend, of Floyd, Oneida County; and it was readily granted. Mr. Townsend, when he gave the money to young Cleveland, told him that he need never return it, but that should he ever meet a young man in need, as he himself had been, he might turn it over to him, should he have it to spare. This was quite in keeping with the character of this friend of Grover Cleveland's father, who, in his time, assisted many young men with his means, to make their first start in the world. He died in 1883, having lived long enough to see the recipient of his bounty become Governor of the State of New York.

Something of the struggle which Grover Cleveland had with fortune in the years immediately following may be judged from the fact that not until 1867 did he feel able to repay the twenty-five dollars which Mr. Townsend advanced to him at this time. This letter tells the story:

"I am now in condition to pay my note which you hold given for money borrowed some years ago. I suppose I might have paid it long before, but I have never thought you were in need of it, and I had other purposes for my money. I have forgotten the date of the note. If you will send me it I will mail you the principal and interest. The loan you made me was my start in life, and I shall always preserve the note as an interesting reminder of your kindness. Let me hear from you soon. With many kind wishes to Mrs. Townsend and your family, I am yours, very respectfully,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

With this small sum, which, however, his habits of economy served to make equal to a much larger amount in the hands of a less careful boy, he set out in company with his friend to brave fortune in the cities of Western New

York. The boys sought employment in Utica and Syracuse, without success. Then, as by an inspiration, they turned their way toward Cleveland. As Grover himself said, the name seemed a good omen.

It was a strange quest on which these two independent young fellows thus set out. They had no certain objective point in view. The world was all before them. They had no influential friends to provide them a place; they had no advisers as to the course to pursue; they had very little money to keep them while on the search for the fortune which they pursued. A fancy for a name was their only guidance, together with the vague conviction that in the West success awaited willing hands and brave hearts.

But on the way to Cleveland there lay the city of Buffalo. In that city resided Lewis F. Allen, whose wife was an aunt of Grover Cleveland, and, leaving his companion in the city, young Cleveland walked out to that part of the suburbs known as Black Rock, to pay his respects to his kindred who lived there.

To his uncle and aunt, Grover explained the purpose of his journey, and confided to them the fact that the city of Cleveland was the point to which his travels tended.

"Grover," said his uncle, "what are you going to Cleveland for?"

"I want to get into a lawyer's office there."

"Stop here, my boy. The law business is of no use in Ohio. If you stop here, I will try to find you a place. Anybody with you?"

"Yes; one of my friends was going West to find something to do, and I thought I would go with him. I will stop here if he will excuse me for leaving him."

Young Cleveland trudged back to the city, explained the situation to his companion, who said it made no difference

with his plans, and returned to his relatives to take up his residence in Buffalo.

By such a chance as this was the course of Grover Cleveland's wanderings turned. Buffalo gained a new citizen, who in less than thirty years was to be its most distinguished son. The poor boy who, on that spring day in 1855, entered unknown, and knowing no friend but those few of his own blood, is to-day the one in whose honor, as he sits in the Capitol at Albany, as the chief executive of the State of New York, the city of Buffalo is ablaze with bonfires and illuminations, and whose name is shouted with cheers, and borne on banners along the streets.

CHAPTER IV.

Lewis F. Allen's House at Buffalo.—Grover Cleveland a Member of the Family.—The American Herd-Book. —Reminiscences of Grover's Boyhood.—Anecdotes and Adventures.

The house and the family into which Grover Cleveland entered in this unexpected and providential way have a peculiar interest from the fact that here he lived for the years in which he determined his future career, and that here he developed from the boy into the man. It was the simple fact that here he found a home—kinspeople and something of an occupation—that fixed his wanderings and located him for life in this community. Such slight and seemingly chance influences shape the destinies of men, and, through men, of States and peoples.

It was a beautiful homestead in which the young adventurer in search of fortune found himself anchored by the invitation of his uncle and aunt. In the pleasantest of the suburbs of Buffalo, about two miles from the center of the city, and at that time separated from the main part of the town by a rather poorly kept road, stood the house of Mr. Allen. The local name of the place was Black Rock, so called from a rocky formation in the Niagara river close by.

The homestead of the Allens was a square, solidly built farmhouse of stone, roughly stuccoed outside and presenting a handsome and substantial appearance. It was decidedly pretentious in comparison with the ordinary wooden and clapboard structures, and presented a somewhat elegant



RESIDENCE OF LEWIS F. ALLEN, NIAGARA STREET, BUFFALO, N. Y.

appearance although the main side of its architecture seemed that of comfort and stability. The house stood back from the road at a distance of some two hundred feet, the ground slightly rising, and, from the rear of the house sloping gently through an orchard of fruit trees to the Niagara river. The fine lawn in front of the house was diversified with shade and ornamental trees, and on either side was a garden, with pleasant fields beyond.

This house is also in a certain way historic, having been built in the year 1817 by Gen. Peter B. Porter, a man of considerable distinction half a century ago, for his own residence. Gen. Porter was Secretary of War in the administration of John Quincy Adams, and during the war of 1812 bore a commission as Major-General of the New York forces. Mr. Allen took up his residence here in 1836.

It was evidently the residence of a man of culture and taste, and of one who, moreover, was possessed of sufficient means to concede something to beauty while providing for utility. The house still stands and is still occupied by Mr. Allen. Its front is softened and beautified by graceful climbing vines that clamber over the stucco and underneath the pillared porch. The trees in front have grown to conceal the house from the passer on the street, through which frequent horse-cars run to and from the business part of the city. The lawn is broken by well-kept beds of ornamental flowers, and here and there about the grounds are seen a miniature tent, a doll's carriage, a child's cart, and other evidences of the parading presence of the grandchildren. At the back of the house the Niagara river still flows swiftly, broad and glistening; but the orchard is cut through by the rails of the Michigan Central Railroad, over which, between the house and the river, thunder the great trains, making even the solid dwelling tremble with their vibration.

Inside, the house has that look of old-fashioned comfort

which comes of long years of continuous occupancy by the same family. Its appearance is much the same as when young Cleveland took up his residence within its walls. The rooms are low-studded, comfortable, with wide fireplaces, and furnished with comfort and taste. It needs but a glance around to learn that it is the home of a man of culture. Books, books, everywhere; periodicals in familiar confusion on tables and stands; on the walls, prints of old engravers after subjects from Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorraine, Rembrandt, and one or two of Trumbull's historical pictures; and in the midst of these specimens of severe art there crops out here and there as evidence of the owner's specialty in a bright-colored print of some famous short-horn bull.

Mr. Lewis F. Allen, a hale and well-preserved gentleman of eighty-four years, has lived more than half his long life in this house. He has a farm on Grand Island, not far distant, which he has always kept stocked with fine cattle. This, indeed, was the specialty of Mr. Allen, who is well and widely known as the author of the *American Herd Book*, a work in many volumes, whose value is understood by breeders as the only authentic and authoritative record of American short-horns.

Mr. Allen is a strict Presbyterian in religious belief, and, as he describes himself, a "very black Republican" in politics. He is a venerable old gentleman, genial and conversable in a marked degree, and chats pleasantly about the boyhood of his distinguished nephew; but the close observer will detect in his tone something of a struggle between the very justifiable pride of relationship and a sort of feeling of resentment that Grover has won distinction as a Democrat and not as a Republican.

"But I don't care about politics," he adds, with the air which so well becomes his gray hairs and the strong, kindly

face of one who has reached in years the point whence he can look far back and down upon the world.

"Grover's father," says Mr. Allen, "was a good man. He was highly respected as a minister and was a preacher of fine abilities. But his modesty killed him. I mean that he didn't have push enough. He was conscientious and devoted to his work, but he never could take advantage of his opportunities for advancement. He never got along in the world as he might have done if he had been a little more worldly. He had a large family. After he left college he went to teach school in Baltimore, and found his wife there. They had nine children. Cecil and Fred—the two who were lost at sea—went into the army when the civil war broke out. All the daughters are living. Four of them are married. Yes, the youngest one has inherited her father's literary abilities. The course of lectures she delivered last winter at Elmira College, on medical history, is said to have been very fine and very successful."

Mr. Allen's reminiscences of young Cleveland, during his residence at the Black Rock homestead, are chiefly those of a familiar, boyish life, work and play mingled.

"Grover was a funny boy," says Mr. Allen. "He had a great deal of wit; was quick and lively. He was always getting into scrapes."

Apropos of this, the old gentleman laughs heartily as he recounts some of those insignificant incidents which occur in every boy's life.

"I have always had a farm on Grand Island. I keep fifty cows there now and shall cut one hundred tons of hay this year. Grover used to go to the farm with my boys, and they probably spent as much time in fishing as they did in work there. One day they pulled in a big muscolonge. You know what that is? A sort of pike, only bigger. This one had a head as large as a calf's, and a mouth that

looked very interesting. Grover wanted to examine it inside, and took a stick to open the muscolonge's jaws. But the fish was not quite dead ; the stick slipped and Grover's fingers were caught as if it had been a steel trap. He squealed well, for his finger was about bitten off. The boys had to pry open the fellow's mouth to get Grover's hand free.

"One day he was getting some points about a yoke of steers I had just bought. 'Better not touch them oxen,' I said to him ; but he thought he knew more about them than I did, and he wanted to find out still more. Well, they kicked him across the stable. This wasn't what he wanted to find out ; but he got that, too."

It was a life comparatively without incident that Grover Cleveland passed in his uncle's family ; a life filled with good, honest work, with books and with farming, and also with the country sports in which a boy of his years finds variety and relaxation. But in the mean time he had in no way lost sight of the purpose which started him on his wanderings through Western New York, and his determination to make a beginning in his chosen profession and follow it up to success was as strong as ever.

CHAPTER V.

Works at Authorship.—Looking for a Place in a Lawyer's Office.—Grover Takes a Desk with Rogers, Bowen and Rogers.—His Adventure with Blackstone.—Picking Up a Legal Education.—His Early Struggles with the World.—Settled at Last in Buffalo.

Mr. Allen's proposition to young Cleveland was that he should remain at his house and assist him in the compilation of the second volume of his American Herd Book, which he then had in hand. He needed not only a clerk and copyist, but an assistant possessed of intelligence, judgment, and some degree of literary skill, as well as industry. He thought he could make Grover answer his purpose, and so he offered him a home and occupation.

Grover fully realized the expectations of his uncle. He did his work well and faithfully, and no doubt more than earned the compensation which he received, so far as a close commercial computation of values is concerned; although the value of the opportunity of establishing himself and enjoying a home while seeking a permanent location, was an advantage that cannot easily be estimated. Mr. Allen subsequently, in the preface to the fifth volume of his Herd Book, published in 1861, six years after the arrival of young Cleveland at Buffalo, and when the boy had acquired a position at the bar, and was beginning to show the stuff that was in him, made a handsome public acknowledgment of his services. In this preface he says:

"In the compilation of the second, third, fourth and fifth

volumes of this work, I take pleasure in expressing my acknowledgment to the kindness, industry, and ability of my young friend and kinsman, Grover Cleveland, Esq., of Buffalo, a gentleman of the legal profession, who has kindly assisted my labors in correcting and arranging the pedigrees for publication; and to him is a portion of the credit due for the very creditable display which our American short-horns make before the agricultural public."

"I was impressed," says Mr. Allen, "with the quickness of intellect which the boy displayed. He had one of the readiest minds I have ever found; was prompt, accurate, and, in short, a remarkably bright young fellow. Like all boys, he was fond of fishing and shooting, and used to go off with my sons for such sport as there was around here; but when he had work to do he did it, and did it well."

Work on the second volume of the Herd Book lasted only through the summer months; and as the volume began to take complete shape in the fall, young Cleveland turned his thoughts more directly toward the accomplishment of his purpose of securing a place in some lawyer's office, where he might begin the preparation for the career which he had in his mind.

"I knew all the lawyers worth knowing in Buffalo," says Mr. Allen, "and I began to look around among them. One day I said, 'Grover, you had better go up and see Hibbard.' Well, he went up and saw him; but Hibbard asked him some question that Grover, who was a high-spirited boy, thought impertinent, and he just turned around and walked out of the office and back home again.

"Then I went into town myself and saw Rogers—Rogers, Bowen and Rogers it was then; they are all dead now but one, who is in Europe—and asked him if they didn't want a boy in the office. Rogers said they didn't want any one,

though they liked smart boys. I told him there was a smart boy at my house who wanted to come in and see what he could do. 'Well,' said Rogers, 'there's a table,' pointing to one in a corner.

"That's the way Grover went into their office. Rogers took him in as a favor to me, without seeing the boy at all. But they soon found out he was smart, and then they wanted to keep him. I told them to pay him what they could afford to pay."

It was in the fall of 1855 that Grover Cleveland, then eighteen years old, entered the law office of Rogers, Bowen and Rogers, with the privilege of using the law library of the firm, and picking up such knowledge of the work as might come in his way. He paid no fee for the privilege, but was expected to make himself useful in the line of the business. The story runs that the senior Rogers, the one who subsequently ran for Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with Morgan, on his entrance into the office, took up a copy of Blackstone, and planted it on the table before the boy with a bang that made the dust fly, saying:

"That's where they all begin."

The lad did begin, with a zealous perseverance, on the somewhat forbidding volume, and kept on until he mastered it. They say that he never forgot one night that he spent alone in the office with the old jurist, he having become so absorbed in the study that he was locked in when the rest went home.

Grover Cleveland lived with his uncle during the early period of his occupancy of a desk in the office of Rogers, Bowen and Rogers. It was a distance of two miles from his home to that office, and as there was no public conveyance at that time he used to walk back and forth daily. In spite of the distance, over rugged roads, he was noticed as the most regular and punctual of the young men in the office.

It is only natural that there should be romantic stories and exaggerated traditions about this period of young Cleveland's life; and many such are told relating to his struggles and his deprivations. But it is unnecessary to place any such embroidery upon the plain and simple truth concerning this part of his life. And the truth is that, while he was a poor boy, working hard to fit himself for a profession, he was neither destitute nor suffering, and that the hardships which he had to endure were neither extraordinary nor cruel.

Referring to some of these stories which found their way into public print about the time of Governor Cleveland's nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Allen writes:

"I find some gross inaccuracies relating to his advent in this city which in justice to him at least should be corrected. He had on several occasions from his early boyhood been a visitor in my family for weeks together, and ingratiated himself in our kind feelings. In the spring of the year 1854, after diligent employment in sundry occupations in the city of New York and elsewhere, not altogether congenial to his future purposes in life, he came to my house in this city on a brief call, while on his way to Cleveland, Ohio, where without a single friend or acquaintance he intended to find his way into a law office to acquire a knowledge of that profession. On disclosing his intention, I endeavored to dissuade him from so precarious an attempt and advised him to remain five months in my employment, where he could be useful, for which I would compensate him, and mean time assist if possible, to a situation with some eminent law firm in this city to prosecute his studies for a profession which he had selected for his future hopes and industry. Ending his summer labors with me, on application to the distinguished law firm of Messrs. H. W. Rogers and Dennis Bowen by both of us, he was kindly

introduced to a table in their office where only an assistant copyist and an established student of the profession were employed. There young Grover took his place and applied himself diligently to the rudiments of his future profession, without any 'nominal pay of \$3.00 or \$4.00 a week to pay for his board and washing,' again erroneously stated, for young law clerks seldom receive any compensation for their first year's labor in a law office.

He boarded with my family for perhaps a year, well clothed, lacking neither an 'overcoat' or 'boots,' in place of 'broken shoes in sleet and snow,' but sufficient in all bodily requirements for health and comfort by his earnings with me, honestly and faithfully rendered. He assisted me for some years afterwards at intervals, spared from his studious employment, in the compilation of my succeeding volumes of a valuable work, with due compensation for his labor. He was no mendicant for employment in whatever he rendered services, but earned his wages, whatever they might be, as any other bright and diligent young man has done, until he established himself in his profession with success and honor. I know no reason why, in writing up the history of one who has so rapidly risen to public estimation in any phase of life he should needlessly be placed in an early destitute condition of charity or necessity, in contrast with the eminent position to which his ability has subsequently elevated him."

To the writer, Mr. Allen said, with some natural indignation :

"Grover came here well clad and not in any way destitute, except of ready money. I got him two or three suits of clothes while he was here, before he began to earn enough money to clothe himself, and he was as well dressed as any of the boys about here—as well as you are this

minute. He never suffered from want, and never went hungry unless he wanted to."

One day his uncle asked him :

"How are you getting along at the office, Grover?"

"Pretty well, sir ; only they don't tell me anything."

Mr. Allen repeated this remark to Mr. Rogers when next they met, and the reply was :

"If the boy has got brains he will find out for himself without any telling."

Young Cleveland had brains, and he began to find out quite rapidly. He was not long in the office before the firm engaged his services at a fixed salary, sufficiently liberal to admit of his taking a room in the city, where he could be nearer the office, and paying his own board. His uncle consented to the change in residence, although offering the young man a permanent home under his roof if he desired to retain it.

Thus Grover Cleveland was at last settled in the city, which was ever after to claim him, earning his own living on the threshold of the profession which he had chosen.

CHAPTER VI.

Eight Years of Study and Work.—A Faithful Student and an Efficient Clerk.—Testimony of his Employers to the Character of the Young Man.—He Is Admitted to the Bar.—Appointed Assistant District Attorney.—His Splendid Record in that Office.—Is Nominated for District Attorney, and Defeated by the Republican Candidate.—His Law Partnerships.

For eight years—that is, until he entered public life as a law officer of the Government—Grover Cleveland remained in the office of Rogers, Bowen and Rogers. In four years of close study, and careful attention to the details of the business, he had prepared himself for admission to the bar, passed his examination, and was admitted a full member of the profession. At this time, he was intrusted with the management of the office in which he had his desk, as confidential clerk in charge of the business of the firm.

Four years more passed quietly and uneventfully in this position, the young lawyer steadily making friends in his profession, and winning the respect and confidence of his associates.

All this time he was establishing the character by which he is known in the community. And he was doing this slowly, if surely, for the reason that he employed no factitious means of securing popularity. He even neglected the advantages which society offered, and while he lived by no means the life of a recluse, he was never an attendant at social gatherings. His employers often asked him to their houses, but he never went. But, says one of his associates

of those days, "Grover won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was, he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind—and then nothing could swerve him from his conviction. It was this quality of intellectual integrity, more than anything else perhaps, that made him afterwards listened to and respected, when more brilliant men, who were opposed to him, were applauded and forgotten."

This comment upon the character of Grover Cleveland, as it was in his early manhood, is now respected by all the associates of his later years. Industry, courage, and honesty are the traits that have marked the man from the beginning of his career to this day.

One of the present partners in the law firm with which young Cleveland studied says :

"It amuses me to hear this talk about Mr. Cleveland's lack of ability. He is the strongest character I ever knew without a national reputation. He is a fine lawyer, and had he ever been ambitious to make a show, could at any time have been a leader. He is incapable of willful wrong, and nothing on earth could swerve him from his convictions of duty. His thorough honesty cannot be questioned, and, without being what might be called a brilliant man, he has always been regarded an able and safe one in every relation of life."

It was while he was still at his desk, in the law office of this firm, at the same time accumulating such private practice as he could, that, in 1863, the question of who should be appointed Assistant District Attorney for the County of Erie was discussed among the young lawyers of Buffalo, several of whom were eligible for the office, and quite desirous of obtaining the appointment. Cleveland advanced no claims for position. He kept quietly at his office work.

But the result of the conferences and discussions of his young brother lawyers was that he was the person who ought to have it, and he was strongly urged to accept.

This incident is characteristic of Mr. Cleveland's peculiarity and of his entire political career. Never has he sought an office ; always has he been taken up and put into public station by others without effort of his own. This statement, which sounds incredible in these days of office-seeking, of log-rolling and corruption, is nevertheless absolutely true of Grover Cleveland. In his case the office has always sought the man. And his advancement from one station of trust to another has always been because in each he has displayed the qualities of mind and heart which make an honest, successful administration. These qualities are inherent in the character of the man, and there need be no doubt that they will continue to rule his conduct in the highest office to which he is called, as they did in his first entrance into public life, as Assistant District Attorney of Erie County, New York.

Cleveland entered upon the duties of this office in 1863, the District Attorney at that time being C. C. Torrance. Mr. Torrance was in delicate health, and, moreover, had his residence down thirty miles from Buffalo, out in the country, at a place called Gowanda. Very naturally, with a young, vigorous and ambitious assistant, whom no amount of work could daunt, the District Attorney preferred to stay at his quiet country home to rest, letting Cleveland carry on the business of the office.

The whole work of the District Attorney's office, in fact, came upon the hands of young Cleveland. But he was strong and eager for it ; it was his first appearance in public life, his first chance to make his ability recognized ; and he took hold of the work fearlessly, and carried it through with success. His remarkable vital strength enabled him to

endure fatigue, and wrestle with tasks that would have prostrated a man of ordinary physique ; while his habits of industry, learned in a hard school, stood him in good stead under the accumulation of business which demanded his attention. He had remarkable success.

At the outbreak of the war, Grover's two brothers had enlisted in the Union army, and he had assumed to a greater extent the filial duty of assisting to maintain the far from opulent household establishment of his widowed mother and his younger sisters. There now came a time when the demands of the war came yet closer upon him. He was drafted. At that moment he was carrying on for the Government a large number of important cases, with which, owing to the illness and absence of the District Attorney, he alone was familiar and competent to deal, and his duty to the people, whose servant he was, imperatively required him to stay. There was no question as to an alternative course. He promptly furnished a substitute and remained at his post.

He made a splendid record in the office during the three years of his incumbency. His able discharge of its duties rendered him a conspicuous candidate for promotion. Hence, in 1865, the Democrats of Erie County nominated him for District Attorney. This, also, was done without his solicitation, or even his knowledge. The nomination came to him, as the former appointment had come, as an expression of confidence in his ability and his integrity, not as the result of intrigue or self-seeking.

Indeed, Cleveland hesitated to accept the honor, feeling a natural reluctance from the fact that District Attorney Torrance, by whom he was appointed, had expressed a wish for a renomination. The convention, however, decided the matter for him, and he was induced to accept the candidacy ; but only on the condition that he should take no part

in the canvass. In fact, he held himself at that time, as ever since, strictly to the performance of the duties of his station, subject only to the call of the people whom he served.

The Republican candidate for District Attorney at this election was Lyman K. Bass; and it speaks volumes for the appreciation in which young Cleveland was held in the community, that, in the strongly Republican County of Erie, at a time when party lines were so strictly drawn as in 1865, the Republican candidate was successful by a majority of not more than three hundred votes.

Cleveland did not lift a finger in aid of his own canvass. And it is told of him, that, on the day of election, he was quietly engaged in the business of his office, trying a case in court. So far was he from what we are accustomed to style a practical politician. The only politics which he recognized was a loyal regard for duty and conscience.

The experience which Cleveland gained during his three years' conduct of the business of the District Attorney's office was just what he needed. It gave him the practice of actual hard work in important cases before the courts, and it strengthened him in his professional knowledge at every point. Moreover, it brought him into prominence at the bar, and gave him a standing which was everywhere recognized when he left the office in 1866.

In that year he formed a partnership with Major Isaac K. Vanderpoel, which continued until 1869. Major Vanderpoel was formerly State Treasurer, an able lawyer, and a respected man. The style of the firm was Vanderpoel and Cleveland. He afterward, when Major Vanderpoel became Police Justice, associated with himself the late A. P. Lanning and Oscar Folsom, the firm name being Lanning, Cleveland and Folsom. The office of this firm was in Seneca street, and Cleveland, in accordance with his unpreten-

tious custom, occupied apartments in the same building, and over his law office.

Mr. Cleveland subsequently had other associations in his business as attorney-at-law. His former antagonist, Lyman K. Bass, leaving the office of District Attorney after serving two terms, and subsequently being elected to Congress, the firm of Bass, Cleveland and Bissell was formed in 1874. As Mr. Bass was engaged in his Congressional work, and doing no active business in the law, Cleveland was in fact at the head of the firm, which quickly came into prominence as one of the leading law firms of the city of Buffalo, doing a large and lucrative business, and intrusted with very important interests. Mr. Bass subsequently removed to Colorado on account of his health, and the firm became Cleveland and Bissell, to which partnership Mr. George J. Sicard was admitted in 1881.

During his term as Mayor of Buffalo, Mr. Cleveland continued a member of the firm, although giving his attention to the official duties of his public office.

CHAPTER VII.

A Successful Lawyer.—Celebrated Cases in which Cleveland was Counsel.—The Grape Sugar Case.—Largest Jury Verdict ever Rendered in Erie County.—The Great Bennett Libel Case.—Testimony of Political Opponents to Cleveland's High Standing at the Bar.—His Kindness to Young Lawyers.—Generosity to His Clients.

In the practice of his profession, Mr. Cleveland made a substantial and acknowledged success. The solid qualities which had marked his character in his earlier years, and which had sustained him in his battle against adverse circumstances in the world, developed as he matured into traits which commanded respect and admiration. The law firms with which he was connected attained a place among the first in that section of the State, and his individual reputation was that of one of the soundest and ablest lawyers.

Several of the most important and celebrated civil cases that appear on the records of the courts during the time that Mr. Cleveland was in active practice of his profession, were conducted by him. One of these was the suit of *Alberger and Williams vs. C. J. Hamlin and the American Grape Sugar Company*. This was an action for the conversion of certain stock of the Grape Sugar Company. It was tried at Batavia. Cleveland was counsel for the plaintiff, who sought to recover a large sum. He secured an award to his client of \$247,000. This is the largest jury verdict ever rendered in that part of the State of New York,

and it was obtained through the skill and the exertions of Mr. Cleveland.

A yet more widely noted case, was the famous Bennett libel suit in 1868. This was notorious because of the scandal involved, the prominence of the parties concerned giving the facts a peculiar interest. As Mr. Cleveland did the work in this case, some interest attaches to the circumstances.

One of the vast industries of Buffalo is the transportation and dealing in grain, and a large portion of the capital of the merchants of that city is represented by grain in transit or stored in the huge elevators that rear their tremendous bulk along the lake and river front. Of course, speculation ran high in this commodity, and large amounts of money were constantly employed also in the legitimate business.

It was the custom, among the Buffalo banks, to accommodate their regular customers with advances on grain actually stored in the elevators; the security taking the shape of a certificate from the elevator company, indorsed by the merchant. This was ordinarily a solid transaction, as safe and legitimate as any loan or collateral. But at one time it became whispered about that the nefarious practice was obtaining among dealers of securing loans on certificates of grain which had never been received, or which had been removed after arrival. The banks were said to wink at the practice, for the reason that notes given with such collateral, being fraudulent, were certain to be paid at maturity in order to avoid exposure. So strong became the feeling in this matter, that the editor of the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, Mr. James N. Matthews, was appealed to with the request to denounce such methods in interest of legitimate and honest business.

Mr. Matthews declined to make any general charges, but offered to expose any individual case of wrong-doing. This

was furnished in the case of Hon. David S. Bennett, then a member of Congress and a large dealer in grain in Buffalo, who, as was represented, had obtained an advance from one of the Buffalo banks on a certificate of grain in an elevator when the grain was not there, the cargo having been removed. The statement of this case in the Commercial Advertiser brought forward Mr. Bennett in his own defense. He instituted a suit for libel against Matthews and Warren, proprietors of the Commercial Advertiser, laying his damages at \$100,000.

Lanning, Cleveland and Folsom were retained for the defense. Mr. Bennett's lawyers were William H. Green and William Dorsheimer. The attorney of record in this case, on the part of the defense, is Benjamin F. Williams, and Mr. Lanning made the argument; but the working counsel was Grover Cleveland, and the successful vindication of his clients was due to the thorough and masterly way in which he worked up the case.

In order to secure a verdict for the defense, it was necessary to prove the truth of the accusations against Bennett in the Commercial Advertiser; and this was difficult, not only because of the high standing, wealth and business and political reputation of Mr. Bennett, but from the necessity of identifying his knowledge of the removal of the cargo in question before obtaining the loan upon the fraudulent certificate. Difficult as the case was, the energy and skill of Grover Cleveland accomplished successfully the work which his clients placed in his hands, and they were absolutely acquitted, with a clean verdict, after a trial lasting about a week. The case was carried up on appeal, and the verdict was sustained. It was a clear victory.

Speaking of the part which Mr. Cleveland took in this case, Mr. Matthews says:

"I shall never forget Cleveland's energy and industry as

displayed in this case. I am able to testify to his unwavering fidelity and his sleepless activity in the work which he had in hand."

Further than this, Mr. Matthews, who is a strong Republican in politics, spoke as follows in a recent conversation with the writer :

"I am doing, and am going to do, all that I honorably can to defeat Cleveland's election as President of the United States. But I am free to say that I never met a man intellectually his superior. I know of no Democrat better equipped for the position for which he has been named than Grover Cleveland. He is an able, honest, and incorruptible man. He is self-reliant, and has excellent judgment. When people speak of him as an obscure man, it is but fair to say that he has long stood in the front rank with the very leaders of thought and action in this part of New York. I attribute his great success in whatever work he has undertaken to two facts : First, he is an extraordinarily able man ; second, he always gives his whole soul to the cause he has in hand."

Mr. Cleveland has always been regarded in the profession as one of the soundest lawyers in western New York, and efforts have been made to secure the advantage of his legal knowledge and clear judgment upon the bench. Judge Verplanck and others, have strongly urged his elevation to that position, knowing the value which his talents must have in that department of the public service. For he has a clearly judicial mind, and the strongest sort of good sense as well as legal acumen.

But his reputation among his brother lawyers is something more than that of one possessed of good legal talent. Without exception, they speak of him as one whose liberality and kindness are exceptional. Often have others in the profession intrusted their business to Grover Cleveland,

safe in the confidence that it would receive as careful and industrious attention as if in their own hands.

Nor did Grover Cleveland, the successful attorney, forget his own experiences as the struggling student, and the hard-working novice in the profession. What of knowledge and information he had, he was free to place at the service of any who might appeal to him for aid. His kindly interest in young lawyers is well remembered by many who are now prominent at the bar.

"What a comfort it has been to go and talk with Cleveland about our cases," said one of these; and his expression finds an echo in the minds of many who have availed themselves of his counsel and assistance. And, no matter what sacrifice of time his advice involved to himself, he steadily refused the compensation which was usually offered him in a division of the fees received by the young men whom he assisted. He was repaying the loan of Farmer Townsend in even a more liberal spirit than that in which it was made to him.

His generosity was remarkable; more so, perhaps, because his life had taught him the value of money, how hard it is to get, how easy to part with. But he had never the faculty of accumulation. He worked for others all his life, and yet for himself he had no care for money. The honorable performance of the work that came to him to do, seemed to be the only reward for which he considered it worthy to strive.

He never looked to gains in fees as the impulse to secure the establishment of the rights of a client. He was absolutely true to one who placed his case in his hands, without thought of remuneration. Indeed, he was more likely to devote himself to the cause of poor men who could not afford to pay him, than to work for rich clients. Chatting with one of Mr. Cleveland's partners, this point came up in

conversation, and Mr. W. S. Bissell, the partner remarked :

“I am now closing up a case of Cleveland’s which has been running on for years, during all which time he has paid all disbursements, such as costs of entry, witness fees, etc., out of his own pocket, because the man was too poor to meet these necessary expenses. And this is only one case out of many that are here on our books.”

“I have often told him,” continued Mr. Bissell, that he had no right to accept the praises of the press and the public for his incorruptibility in office, because it was nothing to the credit of a man who cares nothing about money.”

Mr. Cleveland never acquired wealth because he had no desire for it. He could easily have done so. For his tastes have always been simple and his personal expenses modest. But he was ever liberal to a fault, open-hearted and generous to all in need, or any who deserved aid and encouragement. In his practice he was always indifferent and careless as to his fees. His clients had to offer him money. He never bore hard upon his debtors. And all this without pretense, simply, honestly, kindly.

CHAPTER VIII.

Elected Sheriff of Erie County.—How it Came About.—Cleveland's Popularity Carries a Republican District for the Democratic Ticket.—An Honest Administration.—How Sheriff Cleveland Awarded Contracts.—A Remarkably Organized Office.—Cleveland Gets His First Financial Start in Life.

In 1869, Mr. Cleveland was again called from the private practice of his profession to the administration of a public office. He was nominated and elected Sheriff of Erie County. The way in which this came about was interesting.

At that time, Hon. David Williams, manager of the Lake Shore Railroad, wanted to go to Congress. The district was very close, with perhaps a preponderance of votes in favor of the Republican candidate, whoever he might be. It was no time for taking chances with a ticket that was weak in any spot, and hence considerable thought was given to the matter of the candidate for the shrievalty who should run on the same ticket.

But the office of sheriff was the most important one to be filled. It was, moreover, quite lucrative, and of course a large number of aspirants made a contest for the nomination. Indeed, so valuable was the office in a personal and a party way, that it was considered improbable that any but a Republican could be elected to fill it.

Mr. Williams, however, was bent upon a seat in Congress, and he determined that his ticket should be so strong

as to give him every chance which the fortunes of the day might have for the best manager. So he positively refused to allow any of the old "war horses" who were pushing for the nomination as sheriff to have a place on his ticket. He turned them all off incontinently, and swore that he would not run if any one of them were placed in nomination with him. He wanted a new, strong and clean man, something above ordinary politics, who should give tone and strength to his ticket.

So, at a conference of the party leaders, Grover Cleveland's name was brought forward as that of the man who filled all the requirements, and he was nominated as the candidate who would best strengthen the ticket and increase the chances of electing a Democratic Congressman.

This was done without the consent of Mr. Cleveland, who was engrossed in the practice of law, the firm of Lanning, Cleveland and Folsom at that time having become well established and having received a good and important line of business. Indeed, it was the year after Mr. Cleveland's successful defense in the great Bennett libel case. He therefore protested against the nomination and asked that he be excused from running.

The leaders of the party, however, represented to him that, while there was not much chance of electing the Democratic candidate for sheriff, his name on the ticket would be of great advantage in the Congressional contest; and, placed before him in the shape of a matter of duty to the party, he finally consented to make the sacrifice that was asked of him.

Thus he became the candidate of the Democracy for Sheriff of Erie County, in the fall of 1869. And here was the first exhibition of the good fortune which has so persistently followed him in public life. Although, as has been said, the district was close, with usually Republican major-

ity, his name on the ticket attracted enough votes to Williams to secure that gentleman's election to Congress; and moreover, although Erie County was strongly Republican, Cleveland himself was elected sheriff by about 100 votes.

It was doubtless a surprise to Mr. Cleveland, who had followed his usual custom in avoiding active work in the canvass, to find himself chosen to an office which had so long been the chief prize of the Republican majority in the county, allotted term after term to some party man, who would use it for party benefit. But this result was a strict and unmistakable tribute to the worth of the character which he had established for himself in the community in which he lived. His really great ability, his mental and moral force, and his unswerving integrity, then as now, made him strong with the people, beyond the strength of any mere politician.

The new sheriff had his test very soon after entering upon the duties of his office. The old contracts for supplies for the county expired with the term of his predecessor, and it was necessary to renew them. Before this time, favoritism had ruled in the allotment of these contracts, as it had in every department of government under the control of the politicians of the party then in power. An attempt was made to continue the practice under Sheriff Cleveland. Even yet they did not know the man they had to deal with. Every pressure was brought to bear upon Mr. Cleveland to consent to the distribution of these "spoils" in the way they had been distributed under his predecessors, as party awards, or even in a more corrupt manner. The new sheriff, with a just indignation, turned out the suggestors and ignored their suggestion. The contracts for county supplies were made, during his term, with the lowest bidders, in open competition, and large sums were thereby saved to the Treasury, while at the same time a standard of business and official

integrity was established, which had not been before known in the office.

It can hardly be said that the office of sheriff was congenial to the tastes, or in many ways suited to the talents, of Mr. Cleveland. The office came to him against his wish, unsought and undesired, and it offered but little scope for his acknowledged administrative abilities. That he did find something to reform, and promptly reformed it, and that he straightened out some rather crooked practices in the office, the above incident testifies. Moreover, there is no doubt that he conducted the business of the office carefully and well in every respect.

But anecdotes are told by his old friends of those days when he served the County of Erie, which go to show that they, as well as he, considered him out of his proper place.

During his term a terrible rough, by name Gaffney, was convicted of murder, and placed in the sheriff's custody while awaiting execution. Gaffney was a most thoroughly hardened wretch, having read through the whole catalogue of crime before he came to murder. Sheriff Cleveland was, moreover, a very tender-hearted man, and while not readily deceived, was yet conscientious in allowing even the worst and vilest of men the benefit of every doubt in his favor. So, when Gaffney became apparently demented, and played the maniac in his jail cell, he was inclined to believe that his insanity was real, and, on his representations, Governor Dix appointed Dr. Vanderpool and Dr. Grey, of the Utica Insane Asylum, a commission to examine into his condition. Gaffney's pretended insanity took the form of profane swearing, pouring out continuously, from morning to night and night to morning, volleys of oaths and obscenity. When the experts saw and heard the fellow in his cell, they at once reported that he didn't understand even the rudiments of insanity. It subsequently appeared that the mur-

derer had taken his cue from a remark of his counsel on the trial, "Why, you must have been crazy," and undertook to play the madman to save his neck.

During Mr. Cleveland's term, the sheriff's office of Erie County was officered in what was certainly an unusual manner. Nothing like it has been seen before or since. At its head, as sheriff, was an attorney who was then already regarded as one of the best lawyers at the bar; while his deputy was W. L. G. Smith, a man of high character and attainments, who had been minister to China under Buchanan's administration, and who was an author of repute, "Uncle Tom's Cabin As It Is," and other works that have attracted wide attention, being from his pen.

It is unnecessary to say that the office was well administered, for Mr. Cleveland was at its head. But it was unusual to find such a *personnel* in that department; and, indeed, unlike many sheriff's offices, the men surrounding it were far above the average in intelligence and general character.

The fees of the sheriff's office were large, and the income from it, during his three years' incumbency, gave him his first financial start. He went back to the practice of law at the expiration of his term with something ahead, made more money in his profession, and saved something, although he did not become rich, and never will.

The first case that he took after coming out of the sheriff's office and going into the law again was so amusingly characteristic of the man, that it should be mentioned here. It was that of a poor woman, who came to him in great distress over the threatened foreclosure of a mortgage on her house. Cleveland had never seen her before. She came to him for advice as to what she could do to save her home. Her husband was sick and unable to work, and had no money to pay off the mortgage and avert the threat-

ened calamity. Mr. Cleveland looked into the case, became convinced that the woman was the victim of persecution, and at once took up the mortgage with his own money, and saved the woman her home. He did not hesitate a moment after determining the case to be meritorious, but drew out of his bank \$1,400 in legal tenders, hired a horse and buggy, and sent the money out to the residence of the holder of the mortgage by the hands of a trusty messenger.

This was his first expenditure of money after leaving the sheriff's office, and this was the first client he received. He has not yet got back the money he so generously advanced to save this poor woman from distress; but he does not regret the investment.

CHAPTER IX.

Retirement from the Office of Sheriff.—Cleveland Resumes Law Practice at Buffalo.—Partnership with Lyman K. Bass.—His Industry and Self-Reliance.—Simple Habits of Life.—His Law, Office and Residence.—Is Nominated for Mayor.—Letter of Acceptance.

On retiring from the office of sheriff, Mr. Cleveland resumed his law practice at Buffalo. It was at this time that he formed a partnership with Lyman K. Bass, who, a few years before had beaten him in the contest for the office of District Attorney. The firm was Bass, Cleveland and Bissell. Mr. Bass shortly retired from the firm, and moved to Colorado for his health.

In this association, Mr. Cleveland achieved distinction as a lawyer beyond that which he had already gained. He readily took his place among the leaders of the bar. His legal acumen and intellectual honesty were recognized as conspicuous. His jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic, and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of each case, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues, and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public.

His partner at this time says of him :

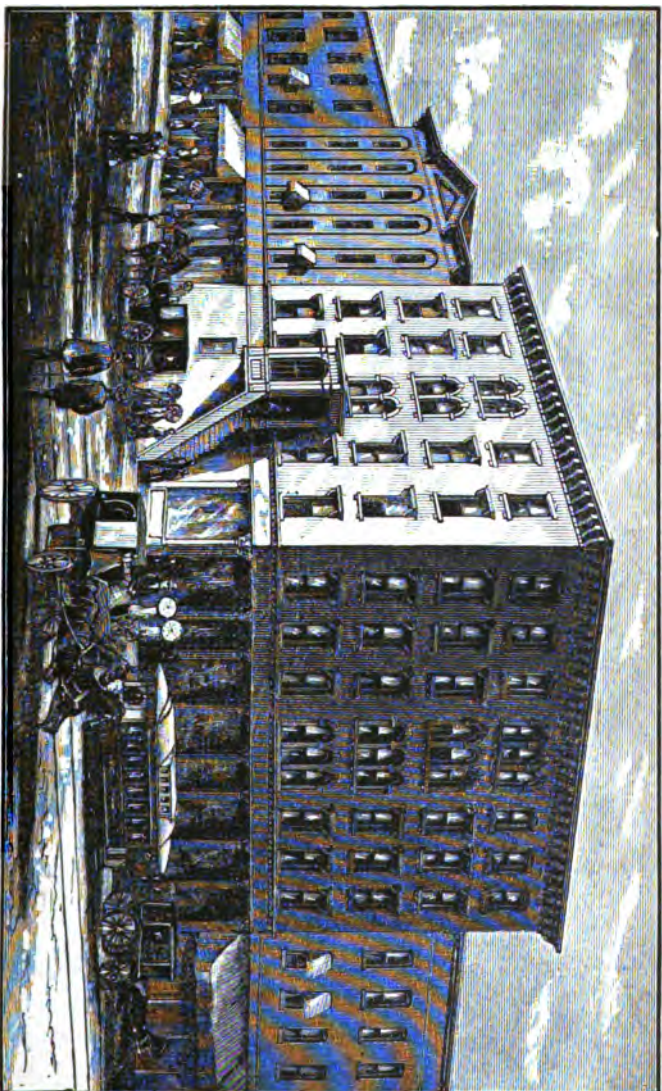
"He was the most industrious man I ever knew, in any department of life. I have often said to him that I could not work as he did. Time after time, he would remain

here all night in the office working on his cases. Some people have thought, or assumed to think, that the industry he has shown in the work of the Governor's office has been for effect. This is not so. He is only doing for the public just what he did for himself in his own private business. He is, moreover, the most self-reliant man I ever saw. When he was here, he never wanted people to assist about him. What he had to do, he would do himself."

Mr. Cleveland pursued his modest and unpretentious manner of life. His habits were as simple as his general conduct was unassuming. His law office was his home. Here he spent his days and his evenings. The office of his firm was at the corner of Main and Swan streets, and his living apartments comprised a fine suit of rooms on the floor over his office. His rooms were neatly and comfortably furnished, paintings and fine engravings adorned the walls, a well-stocked library of history, study and fiction showed a taste for literature, and his fondness for children was shown in a preponderance of children's pictures in the photographs scattered about. He took his meals in a quiet boarding house, and when its mistress got a well-to-do son-in-law and quit business, he used to take his Sunday morning breakfast at the Terrapin lunch, a plain restaurant, where probably a terrapin was never seen. Old Major Randall of the Lake Shore railroad was his companion. He died soon after Mr. Cleveland was made Governor. It was his oft-expressed ambition to live to see "Grove," as he called him, President.

A correspondent writes us as follows about Mr. Cleveland at this period of his life :

"Poking about quietly in Buffalo for a day or two, I once had an opportunity to converse with several persons who had known Grover Cleveland long and well. I found a sterling regard for the man everywhere, and it was a regard



LAW OFFICE AND RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR CLEVELAND, BUFFALO, N. Y.

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uninfluenced by political bias. Among those best able to form independent opinions, this regard was obviously founded on character. Among the people themselves there was a well-defined conviction that he was a man to depend upon. As one rough fellow said to me in the hotel saloon: 'Well, I don't know about his learnin' or how he stands on a lot of questions that we don't understand, and don't want to, but he's a safe man, and he's pretty sure to understand them better than we do, and he'll do the right thing.' I suppose that this kind of faith in character is one of the most inestimable discoveries that a man can make, and I was interested to find that the element of popularity did not grow out of the subject good-fellowship, or mere manners. I failed to hear any one say that Grover Cleveland had any magnetism, or that he fascinated a crowd, or that he drew people after him with a personal glamour. On the contrary I formed a very distinct notion that there was a class of men that he repelled, and that disliked him as easily, as naturally, and as sincerely as a thief hates a magistrate or a smuggler hates a dead calm. Indeed it was impossible to discover, either in the man's record or in the reputation that had grown up about him anything dramatic. The resultant heroism of his life is that common heroism of the 'common' work-a-day world which does its duty, not for effect but for a principal and a purpose, and which, if it does not so easily catch the eye and the ear, is, after all, the enduring force that the people come to look for, and rely upon when there is great work to be done. I looked into his law offices on Main street—this later laboratory where were evolved the legal functions that came into the public service of his own community. They were curiously solid and unpretentious, and upstairs were the bachelor rooms where for years Grover Cleveland had slept and worked. I examined them minutely, for one often obtains a glimpse of character by such *entourage*. And

they were instantly indicative of the simple tastes, methodical habits and studious life of the occupant. Two or three pictures, evidently selected not for decoration, but because the owner prized the subject and admired the treatment, hung on the walls. But there was elsewhere not a superfluous article in the room. Elegance had been forgotten in the successful attempt to secure comfort and convenience and seclusion."

It was the qualities which Mr. Cleveland displayed in his professional career and as a private citizen which caused all eyes to turn toward him at a time when the people of Buffalo found themselves in sore need of a strong, able and fearlessly honest man to assume the duties of chief executive of the city and undertake a reform of the methods of government in that municipality.

Buffalo had been badly ruled. It was a strong Republican city, the majorities in favor of that party ranging from 2,500 to 5,000; and, with this blind party support behind them, the leaders had gone on boldly from bad to worse, until corruption and jobbery ruled, wastefulness in expenditure prevailed, and the public business was in miserable condition. There was a popular revolt against the men and the methods that were robbing the city; and the man to whom the popular heart turned as the leader of reform was Grover Cleveland, whose known integrity of character and firmness of purpose proclaimed him the man for the place.

Mr. Cleveland did not in any way seek the honor which was to be conferred upon him. He was always a consistent Democrat, but he was not what is known as an active politician. Least of all, was he an aspirant for office. When the Democratic convention met, he was trying a case in court. He was nominated for mayor; a delegation was sent to the courtroom to inform him of the action; he came across the street to the hall in which the convention met,

briefly accepted the position, and then went back and continued his argument before the court.

It was a "straight" Democratic nomination which he received, and it was only as a Democrat that he stood before the people for election. But Democracy, as represented by Grover Cleveland in Buffalo at that time, meant just what it now means in the nation, a thorough and honest reform in the methods and character of administration. It meant honesty in the place of jobbery, principle in the place of policy. And Grover Cleveland was the man who in his own person and character represented this issue.

Mr. Cleveland accepted the nomination in a formal letter, characteristic of the man in every line, which is given herewith :

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION.—I am informed that you have bestowed upon me the nomination for the office of mayor. It certainly is a great honor to be thought fit to be the chief officer of a great and prosperous city like ours, having such important and varied interests. I hoped that your choice might fall upon some other and more worthy member of the city Democracy, for personal and private considerations have made the question of acceptance on my part a difficult one. But because I am a Democrat and because I think no one has a right at this time of all others to consult his own inclinations as against the call of his party and fellow-citizens, and hoping that I may be of use to you in your efforts to inaugurate a better rule in municipal affairs, I accept the nomination tendered to me.

"I believe much can be done to relieve our citizens from their present load of taxation, and that a more rigid scrutiny of all public expenditures will result in a great saving to the community. I also believe that some extravagance in our city government may be corrected without injury to the public service.

"There is, or there should be, no reason why the affairs of our city should not be managed with the same care and the same economy as private interests. And when we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people, and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement to a faithful and honest discharge of public duty.

"These are very old truths ; but I cannot forbear to speak in this strain to-day, because I believe the time has come when the people loudly demand that these principles shall be sincerely, and without mental reservation, adopted as a rule of conduct. And I am assured that the result of the campaign upon which we enter to-day will demonstrate that the citizens of Buffalo will not tolerate the man or the party who has been unfaithful to public trusts.

"I say these things to a convention of Democrats because I know that the grand old party is honest, and they cannot be unwelcome to you.

"Let us then in all sincerity promise the people an improvement in our municipal affairs ; and if the opportunity is offered to us, as it surely will be, let us faithfully keep that promise. By this means, and by this means alone, can our success rest upon a firm foundation and our party ascendancy be permanently assured. Our opponents will wage a bitter and determined warfare ; but with united and hearty effort we shall achieve a victory for our entire ticket.

"And at this day, and with my record before you, I trust it is unnecessary for me to pledge to you my most earnest endeavors to bring about this result : and if elected to the position for which you have nominated me, I shall do my whole duty to the party ; but none the less I hope to the citizens of Buffalo."

This letter contains the key-note of Grover Cleveland's policy—"Public officials are the trustees of the people, and

hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people." This is the principal on which he has ever acted, as honestly and as conscientiously as ever man did in any sphere of life.

The people knew him and they believed in his ability as well as in the honesty of his professions. In a strongly Republican city he was elected by a majority as large as that which had been usually given the candidate on the opposing ticket. This, too, was done without any pretense of "non-partizanship," but with the issue strongly stated, by the candidate himself as well as the convention which nominated him, to be that of Democracy and reform against Republicanism and continuous abuses.

It was a great triumph, and it was largely due to the personality of the candidate. With another or a different man, it may be doubted whether the people of Buffalo would have been able to throw off the ring rule which was distressing their city. With Grover Cleveland, the effort was made successfully.

CHAPTER X.

A Young Mayor over a Large City. — The "Queen City of the Lakes."—Its Commercial Advantages. — The Grain Elevators and the Work They Do. — The Manufacturing Industries of Buffalo.—Public Departments.—The Schools.—The Parks.—The Water Works and Niagara Tunnel.—Organization of the City Government.—The City and County Hall.

Mayor Cleveland was not forty-five years of age when he was called upon to fill the very important position of chief executive of the third largest city in the State of New York ; and, moreover, to assume the duties of this position as the representative of the general demand for reform in every branch of the municipal administration. It was a difficult place in which to put any man, requiring force of character and executive ability of the highest class, and especially in this crisis in the city's affairs. Only one of rare energy and untiring industry could have accepted it with any chance of success. A mediocre man, or one whose powers were not thoroughly trained, or who lacked the courage of his convictions, must have failed utterly.

The city of Buffalo, over whose administration Grover Cleveland was chosen to preside as a reform Mayor, is not only one of the largest cities in the State of New York, but one of the most important commercial and business centers of the country. It has been called the "Queen City of the Lakes," and merits that title. Situated at the eastern extremity of Lake Erie, and at the head of the Niagara river, it has a water front of six miles, and one of

the finest harbors on the lake, formed by the Buffalo river. Fronting the entrance of this river, the United States Government, in 1869, commenced the construction of a break-water, and there is a large number of slips, docks, and basins for the accommodation of shipping and canal boats, making the total available water frontage of the port of Buffalo fully eighteen miles.

The advantages for commerce which nature affords this city have been appreciated and sedulously improved by the enterprise of its citizens. With very few equals in the world as a grain port, its terminal facilities are very extensive and complete. Grain is received, transferred, stored, and forwarded with greater despatch than at any other port in this country. The river, for about a mile from its mouth, is lined with immense elevators and floaters, provided with all of the most improved appliances for handling cereals.

The transfer of grain cargoes from vessels into store-houses and canal boats, prior to 1843, was done by manual labor, being raised from the hold in tubs and bags. In that year Mr. Joseph Dart erected the first elevator ever built for storing and transferring grain, with steam power, and with a storage capacity of 55,000 bushels, and a transfer capacity of 15,000 bushels per day, near the mouth of Buffalo river. Now there are twenty-two elevators, ten transfer elevators, and six floaters, thirty-eight in all, most of which are massive structures, costing in the aggregate about \$6,000,000. Their combined storage capacity reaches 9,215,000 bushels, while their daily transfer capacity is 3,102,000 bushels. That is to say, the elevators of Buffalo are capable of receiving from lake vessels and transferring to canal boats and cars, daily, 3,000,000 bushels of grain if called upon to do so. These elevators are owned by private individuals, excepting that the New

York Central and Hudson River Railroad owns two, the Connecting Terminal Railroad one, and the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad one. Several of these elevators have machinery attached whereby 60,000 to 70,000 bushels of wet or damaged grain can be dried every twenty-four hours.

The grain trade has steadily increased for years, the season's receipts for 1880 aggregating, by lake and Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad, 175,000,000 bushels. The facilities for forwarding this vast amount of grain were as extensive as the terminal facilities. The capacity of the canal has never been fully tested, and the shipments of 1880, which reached 72,000,000 bushels, were forwarded with as little effort as the 36,000,000 bushels shipped in 1875. This fact is accounted for by the deepening and improvement of the canal so as to permit of the passage of boats with increased speed.

The Central, Erie, Philadelphia, and Lackawanna Railroads give much attention to conveying grain, and each moves large quantities received by lake as well as its through shipments. Their tracks run directly into the elevators, so that there is no carting and no handling outside of the elevator. It is no uncommon thing to see a large lake vessel being unloaded and two canal boats and two trains of freight cars being loaded at the same time.

In addition to the great business of grain and transportation, to which must be added the five large steamboat lines plying regularly between Buffalo and other points on the great lakes, its manufactures are many and important. At the time of Mayor Cleveland's election, the number of manufacturing establishments in Buffalo was fully twelve hundred.

The stove works in Buffalo are very extensive. The iron and nail and the malleable iron works, the planing mills, the

grape sugar and starch works, the chemical works and fertilizer works are among the largest in the country. To these must be added the car-wheel works, the marine and other engine works, iron bridge building, the manufactories of water-mains and gas-pipes, chains, mills and mill-furnishing goods, threshing machines and agricultural implements, freight cars, scales, stamped hardware goods, refrigerators and bird cages; tanneries; oil refineries; boot and shoe and furniture factories; water-lime and cement works; potteries; soap makers; pork-packing houses; canned fruits and vegetables; confectioneries; edge-tool and hinge factories; children's and other carriages; organs and melodeons, and other industries too numerous to mention. Ship-building, both of iron and wood, is also carried on to a large extent. Leather belting and hose is another specialty.

The flouring mills of the city and suburbs are quite extensive, and the capital invested large. Their capacity may be estimated at 1,350,000 barrels annually, and the products have a wide-spread reputation for excellence.

The malting interest is a very important one; sixty malt-houses were in operation last year, turning out over 3,000,000 bushels of malt. The breweries number about fifty. The distilleries and rectifying establishments are of large capacity.

The estimated value of the leather manufactured here in 1883, was \$6,250,000; and of boots and shoes, \$1,500,000; and Buffalo is said to take the lead in producing the best quality of hemlock sole leather in the United States.

The amount of capital invested in manufactures in Buffalo is estimated at \$35,000,000; the number of hands employed, 30,000; and the value of the annual products \$55,000,000.

The government of this city of 200,000 inhabitants—the census of 1880 giving the population of the city as 155,134, and of the county as 219,881—with a proper regard for the

great interests involved, was a work of no little magnitude. The taxable valuation of the city, when Mayor Cleveland assumed office was \$92,256,315, with \$11,163,970 addition of property belonging to the city and to religious and educational societies exempt from taxation. There were one hundred miles of improved streets, with double that number opened and surveyed, and one hundred and eleven miles of sewers. The school property was valued at \$650,000, and the cost of the public school service, not including the repair and re-furnishing of the school buildings, amounted to one-half that sum. The water works, also a department of the municipal administration, have cost seven and a half million dollars, and bring in a revenue from consumers of nearly half a million yearly. The water is brought through a tunnel extending into the middle of the Niagara river, thus insuring absolute purity, and some 20,000,000 gallons are pumped and distributed daily.

The city has also expended \$2,000,000 on a system of parks, exclusive of more than \$500,000 for the purchase of lands for park purposes. The total area of the park lands is 816 acres, laid out by skilled landscape gardeners and architects, and intersected by avenues two hundred feet in width. The lake takes up forty-six and a half-acres. With its miniature islands, its bays and coves, the boathouse, well stocked with row-boats, and a float for the band, refectories, etc., it is difficult to find a more romantic and picturesque spot. The popularity of the place is attested by the crowds of people to be seen there summer evenings. Adjacent to the main park where the lake is situated, is Forest Lawn Cemetery. The State Insane Asylum, an imposing brown stone and brick structure, is on the opposite side of the main-park.

The organization of the government of this city consists of a Common Council of twenty-six members, chosen two from each of the thirteen wards, as the legislative branch,



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with the mayor exercising the veto power, and the several departments conducted by boards or commissioners over whom the mayor has a general supervision. It is a large and important corporation, controlling vast interests and holding great responsibilities.

The mayor's office, the council chamber and the offices of the several departments are in the City Hall, a structure built at a cost of \$1,400,000, and dedicated in March, 1876, which stands on a site bounded by Delaware, Franklin, Eagle and Church streets, and the surrounding grounds are laid out and terraced in an artistic and ornamental manner. The building is of granite, with a tower containing an electrical illuminated clock, and is adorned with four representative statues. It is three stories high, not including a finished basement, and furnishes quarters for all the city and county officers, as well as the courts. The Common Council chamber is very handsome and commodious. The jail stands at the junction of Delaware and Church streets, facing City Hall. The two buildings are very similar in external appearance, and are connected by an underground passage.

CHAPTER. XI.

Inauguration of Mayor Cleveland.—His Annual Message.—He Meets an Opposing Council with Sound and Brave Words.—He Proposes a Business Man's Administration.—The Government the Trustee of the People's Money.—He Attacks Abuses and Jobbery in the Departments.—The Official Printing.—A Recommendation that the Auditor Should Audit.—A Fair Day's Work for a Fair Day's Pay.

Mayor Cleveland took office on the second day of January, 1882. The revolt against jobbery and ring rule, which had made him mayor, was not sufficiently strong to provide him with the support and assistance in the work of reform which he should have had. The Common Council was still Republican in politics, and contained members who were identified with the old ring and the old system of jobbery. It was a situation that might have daunted a man of less self reliance; but Mayor Cleveland accepted the situation, and undertook the work bravely, with a clear head and a strong hand. He combined firmness with judgment and policy, attacking measures, not men, though using an unsparing hand in grasping and crushing out wrong-doing wherever he found it.

The party division in the Common Council of the city of Buffalo, in the year 1882, was sixteen to ten, the majority being the opponents of Mayor Cleveland, and representing the influence against which he would have to contend. At the first meeting of the Council, at the beginning of the year, it is customary for the mayor to present his annual

message, which is read by the Clerk to the Council. Mayor Cleveland's message was not a long document, but it was full of very sound sense. It was the expression of the views and the purposes of a practical man of affairs, intrusted with duties and responsibilities which, although new, he comprehended and had fully mastered. It was clear and very much to the point. Its opening paragraphs proclaimed the principle of his administration :

“*To the Honorable the Common Council of the City of Buffalo:*

“In presenting to you my first official communication, I am by no means unmindful of the fact that I address a body, many of the members of which have had quite large experience in municipal affairs ; and which is directly charged, more than any other instrumentality, with the management of the government of the city, and the protection of the interests of all the people within its limits. This condition of things creates grave responsibilities, which I have no doubt you fully appreciate. It may not be amiss, however, to remind you that our fellow-citizens, just at this time, are particularly watchful of those in whose hands they have placed the administration of the city government, and demand of them the most watchful care and conscientious economy.

“We hold the money of the people in our hands to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality ; and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus intrusted to us, are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears

as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayers, than that which should regulate his conduct, when as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor.

"It seems to me, that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city, may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should, at all times, be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

"I am fully persuaded that in the performance of your duties these rules will be observed. And I, perhaps, should not do less than to assure your Honorable Body that so far as it is in my power, I shall be glad to co-operate with you, in securing the faithful performance of official duty, in every Department of the City Government."

These very plain words of warning and admonition must have come with considerable force to the ears of the Council. The announcement that public affairs "should be conducted upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns" was the key-note of the new administration, and it was doubtless appreciated by those who had been in sympathy with the very different principles which had prevailed in municipal affairs during the years just preceding.

After laying down these general principles, Mayor Cleveland proceeded in his message to call attention to the condition of the several municipal departments as presented in figures and facts furnished by the several city officials. Among these was the street department, in which jobbery

had been especially prevalent and competent and faithful supervision conspicuously lacking. Concerning this department the mayor said :

"The recent investigation into the affairs of this department, has developed the most shameful neglect of duty, on the part of the persons in charge. The entire absence of any record of work done, renders it impossible to give exact data.

* * * * *

"The mismanagement of the affairs of this department, has led directly to the wasting (to use no stronger term) of the people's money.

"The Charter of the city provides, that 'the Street Commissioner shall *superintend* the construction and repairs of plank sidewalks and unpaved streets, the cleaning and watering of streets, and the abatement of nuisances.'

"This superintendence means something more than certifying accounts, when presented, without any examination. And it is perfectly clear that, before he certifies any bill for work, the Street Commissioner should inspect and measure the same. In no other way is his certificate any protection to the taxpayers.

"I am told that for a number of years, the city has been charged twenty-six cents per foot, for constructing plank sidewalks ; and for all that time, bills have been presented, audited and paid at this rate. During the same period, private persons have had this work done for from fifteen to eighteen cents per foot. I cite this as an example, for I understand the same difference is made between the city and private parties in relation to other work. This should not be so. There is no good reason why the city should not have its work done as cheaply as any other party. And surely no business man would expect to survive long, if he

paid nearly fifty per cent. more for work and materials than his neighbor.

"I heartily indorse the recommendation, lately made by my predecessor, that all work of the description mentioned be let to the lowest bidder, he to do all such work that is required, at a stated price, for a certain time. This plan should, of course, not dispense with the inspection, by the proper officer, of the work performed. It may be worth considering, in connection with this scheme, whether it would not be well to establish a local improvement fund, from which the expense of such work could be at once paid—the fund to be afterwards reimbursed by local taxation. This would give the city the advantage of dealing with the contractor on the basis of cash prices, and would prevent the accumulation of interest upon warrants given for work and remaining unpaid.

"In this connection, I desire to call your attention to the very discreditable condition of our streets.

"There is perhaps no purpose to which the money raised by taxation could be more legitimately applied than to securing decently clean and safe streets and sidewalks. The health, safety, and comfort of the citizen is directly involved in these things, to say nothing of the pride which we ought to have, in the appearance of our city.

"I think it has been fully demonstrated that the plan at present pursued in the matter entirely fails to accomplish the desired purpose. We let the contract for carting away the dirt and ashes from the streets, at a price for which no one can afford to do it properly; and we rely upon the citizens to gather up in front of their premises what the contractor has only agreed to carry away.

"If our streets are to be cleaned by contract, I think both the gathering up and the carting away should be done by the contractor. We should pay for the work what it is

reasonably worth, and a contract, once entered into, should be rigidly enforced.

“The city might be divided into comparatively small districts, with a contractor for each district. In that case parties might compete for the work of a district, who would not be equipped for doing a larger job.

“It has been suggested that a contract might be made for doing all the work for a term of years, with a responsible party. This, it is claimed, would enable the contractor to provide himself with the appliances necessary to do the work properly, which he is not apt to do if his contract is only for one year.

“I am not prepared to make any positive recommendation on this subject, and leave the solution of the question to your larger experience and practical knowledge.

“It seems to me, however, that much might be said in favor of changing the whole system of doing this, and other work of the same description, and putting it in charge of one of the present departments of the city, or a new one, to be organized for that purpose.

“We have ten street inspectors, appointed by the Street Commissioner, by and with the advice of the Common Council. These persons are supposed to have certain duties to perform,—among others to discover and report any defects dangerous to life and limb, in the streets and sidewalks. I am led to believe that frequently the persons appointed to these positions either have no idea of a proper performance of their duties, or are incapable of doing the work required of them. Suits are constantly brought against the city, for personal injuries caused by defects in the streets and sidewalks; and verdicts are frequently recovered, upon the theory that the defect has existed so long that notice of the same to the city is presumed. There does not seem to be much excuse for this; and these officers

should be strictly held to a faithful and efficient performance of their duties, or the offices abolished."

When this point in the mayor's message was reached, one of the Aldermen moved that the further reading of the paper be dispensed with. Mayor Cleveland's strong words were evidently too much for the ring, and they resented such talk. They had never had to listen to such solid truths from any mayor before this, and they disliked it exceedingly. But, to the credit of the Council, this attempted indignity was not perpetrated, for the Council voted to continue the reading. And they got some more of it; although what they had already heard was the severest part of the message. The rest they could sit through with comparative comfort.

With regard to the public school system, the mayor said:

"Our public schools are matters of such vital public concern, and so intimately connected with good citizenship, that I recommend all necessary measures be taken to promote their usefulness and efficiency.

"I am led to the belief, that in the matter of the repairs and refurnishing of the public school buildings, the utmost economy is not exercised. I am not furnished with the expenses incurred in this matter, but I am convinced that if a committee of citizens in the several districts would take it upon themselves to look after these things, much useless expenditure, by being brought to their notice might in future be avoided."

The expenditure of the public money for the public good, and for that only, was what Mayor Cleveland insisted upon in every portion of his message. While condemning waste, favoritism, or careless expenditure, he as boldly declared in favor of such expenses, however great, as the safety and comfort of the citizens seemed to demand. Thus, in treating of the public health, he said:

"Of the total deaths reported, 1,378, or more than 36 per

cent. of all, have been from zymotic diseases, dependent, in some degrees at least, upon surrounding conditions, and which, to a certain extent, are regarded as preventable.

"I mention this fact, because it emphasizes the importance of a due regard and care for our sanitary condition, and the means necessary for its improvement.

"And I cannot pass to another subject, before urging upon you the great and present necessity of constructing a sewer in the lower part of the city, and the consequent abatement of the nuisance which now exists in the Hamburg Canal.

"No argument is necessary to present the importance of this work. I do not look upon it as something that may be dispensed with, or even postponed to a more convenient season. No one has, I believe, the hardihood to deny that as long as the present condition of things exists, there lurks in our very midst danger great and imminent. And this danger threatens not the property interests alone, but the lives and health of our fellow-citizens. We have no right to falter or procrastinate. Because we have had a measure of immunity from its worst consequence hitherto, we ought not to tempt Providence further. This work is actually indispensable, and the question of economy is not a factor in the problem, except so far as it should guide us to the selection of the cheapest effectual plan and urge us to insist that the money raised for that purpose is actually and honestly applied. If a pestilence should be abroad and invited hither by our present condition, should settle in our midst, sweeping off thousands of our inhabitants, there would be but little comfort in the reflections of the survivors of those who had become victims of culpable neglect and false economy. It is unfortunate that this outlay is necessary ; but as it is, let us manfully face the situation, devise the best means for securing our safety, do the work and pay for it.

The accomplishment of any scheme for our relief seems to be fraught with great practical difficulties. The work, when accomplished, should be for all time, and sufficient for all future needs. I think under such circumstances it would be money well spent to employ the best available engineering skill to plan, and perhaps superintend, its execution."

Mayor Cleveland was in earnest in his determination to establish, so far as he could, a reform in the city government based on "the principles which a good business man employs in his own business." He had already intimated to the Council what he was likely to do in cases when he had the power through his veto to influence legislation. He now went a little further, and told the Council what they ought to do in a matter over which they hold full control. This was the subject of official printing—quite a fat job as it had been considered under the old management—and of this he said:

"The charter provides that the Common Council shall designate one of the daily newspapers published in the city, as the official paper; and the action of the council in this matter is expressly exempted from the operation of the veto power of the mayor. Thus the whole responsibility is upon your honorable body. Under such circumstances, I might well refrain from alluding to this subject. And yet, I hope it may not be considered entirely out of place, to remind you, that work of this description, like all other, should be done where it can be done the cheapest. This is not accomplished when it is bestowed as a professed reward for party service, or an item of political patronage. Why should other work for the city, involving the expense of a few hundred dollars, be advertised, to the end that the lowest price for which it can be done may be ascertained, and this printing, which involves the expenditure of thousands of dollars, be given to a party organ without question?

“The Common Council is to designate, but before you can designate intelligently, if your object is to save the people’s money, you must inform yourselves where this work can be done the cheapest, and designate accordingly. I hope you will see fit to advertise for proposals to do this printing, so that there may be at least a chance of accomplishing a saving in this direction.”

Then he went still further toward the root of incompetency in municipal business, by showing the real inefficiency of the system of auditing accounts, and pointing out how it might be made efficient. Of the city auditor he said :

“It seems to me that the duties which should be performed by this officer have been entirely misapprehended. I understand that it has been supposed that he does all that is required of him when he tests the correctness of the extensions and footings of an account presented to him, copies the same in a book and audits the account as charged if the extension and footings are found correct. This work is certainly not difficult, and might well be done by a lad but slightly acquainted with figures.

“The charter requires that this officer ‘shall examine and report upon all unliquidated claims against the city before the same shall be audited by the Common Council.’ Is it not very plain that the examination of a claim means something more than the footing of the account by which that claim is represented? And is it not equally plain that the report provided for includes more than the approval of all accounts which *on their face* appear correct?

“There is no question but that he should inquire into the *merits* of the claims presented to him ; and he should be fitted to do so by a familiarity with the value of the articles and services embodied in the accounts.

“In this way he may protect the interests of the city ; other-

wise his services are worse than useless, so far as his action is relied upon."

And, further than this, with a careful eye to the details of the city's business, he proclaimed, what must have been a very unwelcome doctrine, that city employes should give a fair day's work for the fair day's pay which they received. On this point, he said :

"I am utterly unable to discover any valid reason, why the city offices should be closed and the employes released from their duties at the early hour in the day, which seems now to be regarded as the limit of a day's work. I am sure no man would think an active private business was well attended to if he and all his employes ceased work at four o'clock in the afternoon. The salaries paid by the city to its officers, and their employes, entitle it to a fair day's work. Besides these offices are for the transaction of public business ; and the convenience of all our citizens should be consulted, in respect to the time during which they should remain open.

"I suggest the passage of an ordinance prescribing such hours for the opening and closing of the city offices, as shall subserve the public convenience.

"It would be very desirable if some means could be devised to stop the practice so prevalent among our city employes of selling, or assigning in advance, their claims against the city for services to be rendered. The ruinous discounts charged and allowed, greatly diminish the reward of their labor ; in many cases habits of improvidence and carelessness are engendered ; and in all cases this hawking and trafficking in claims against the city presents a humiliating spectacle."

Finally, after so much sound common sense, to which the Council had unwillingly listened, he finished his message as follows :

"In conclusion, I desire to disclaim any dictation as to the performance of your duties. I recognize fully the fact, that with you rests the responsibility of all legislation which touches the prosperity of the city and the correction of abuses. I do not arrogate to myself any great familiarity with municipal affairs, nor any superior knowledge of the city's needs. I speak to you not only as the Chief Executive officer of the city, but as a citizen, proud of its progress and commanding position. In this spirit the suggestions herein contained are made. If you deem them not worthy of your consideration, I shall still be anxious to aid the adoption and enforcement of any measures which you may inaugurate, looking to the advancement of the interests of the city and the welfare of its inhabitants.

"GROVER CLEVELAND, Mayor."

Thus was Mayor Cleveland's administration opened. He had been elected to institute reforms, and he had spoken out boldly and distinctly on this subject in his inaugural message. So plain had been his language that his opponents had even attempted the extreme discourtesy of forbidding the reading of his message. Would he hold out through the year of his term of office against the hostile majority in the Council? That was the question that men asked each other on reading his vigorous inaugural.

CHAPTER XII.

Buffalo Finds it Has a Strong Mayor.—He Teaches the Old Politicians a Lesson.—Some of His Earlier Vetoes.—A Job for the Keeper of the Morgue.—Loose Legislation Rebuked.—The Official Printing.—The Mayor's Recommendations Adopted.—Progress of Reform Under Cleveland's Administration.

Mayor Cleveland's annual message showed that not only had a strong man come to the head of the city government, but that he was a man who also knew where the weak spots in the municipal administration were located, and just what was the remedy for reform.

This apparent familiarity with the methods of city business which was displayed by the lawyer fresh from private life and the conduct of private business was somewhat surprising. No wonder the members of the Council were astonished to find this new man probing right down to the sore spots beneath the fair exterior of their government. But it was not from long experience that he spoke; for this was his first participation in municipal affairs. Neither was it from intuition, except such as every strong and honest man has when brought within touching distance of dishonesty. It was the result of Grover Cleveland's remarkable mental power, which enabled him to grasp the situation at once, to familiarize himself with its details, and to master all its intricacies. While modestly representing himself as one who had less experience in these matters than some of the old politicians whom he addressed in his

message, not one of them had reason to doubt that he knew all that was worth knowing about municipal management in spite of his newness to the City Hall.

If they did not realize it then, they had the fact brought home to them speedily in a very forcible manner. For the promise of reform which Mayor Cleveland put forth in his message was followed by acts of a very decided sort. The vetoes which came from the mayor's office during the year of his occupancy are well worth preservation as official papers, if only for the purpose of illustrating the constant watchfulness of this young statesman over the people's interests, and the consistent energy with which he placed his authority in the way to obstruct and repel every assault upon those interests.

The Council received one of these vetoes very speedily. At its first session that body perpetrated a piece of loose legislation in its haste to provide places for party workers. It was in relation to the establishment of a morgue, the Council having chosen a keeper of the morgue, and fixed his salary, thus providing place and pay, without prescribing any duties for him to perform or establishing any regulations for his conduct.

Promptly at the second meeting of the Council came in the mayor's veto; in which, after showing the Council that, in their haste to make a place for a ward politician, they had bunglingly passed an order which was legally void under the charter, he went on to say:

"The preamble to the resolutions upon the subject introduced on the thirtieth day of May last contains a recital to the effect that 'there is a great and growing necessity for the establishment of a morgue' for certain general purposes therein stated, connected with the 'temporary care of the dead.' A committee were appointed pursuant to these resolutions. This committee subsequently reported recom-

mending the establishment of a public morgue. The report was adopted; and then followed a resolution of the Council directing the superintendent of public buildings to provide accommodations for such morgue in the building occupied as police headquarters.

"The above, so far as I can find, is all that has been done establishing the proposed house of the dead. The precise objects of its establishment; the conditions under which subjects shall be received into it; how they shall be cared for while there, and under what regulations they may be taken away; what disposition, under various circumstances, shall be made of them; the care and disposition of property which may be found upon the persons of the dead, and many other things necessarily incident to the conducting of such an institution, are left entirely unprovided for.

"The terms 'morgue' and 'public morgue' do not necessarily imply all, or, specifically, any of these things. Careful provision should be made by ordinance formally establishing this dead house, regulating the manner in which it shall be conducted, specifically defining the duties and responsibilities of those in whose charge it shall be placed, and what security, by bond or otherwise, shall be given for the faithful performance of their duties, and prescribing such penalties as shall be found necessary for its efficient administration.

"Might it not be well for your Honorable Body to review the proceedings already had, with a view to such future action as shall be necessary to accomplish the objects which I have indicated?

"I commend the whole subject to your careful consideration, with the assurance of my cordial co-operation in perfecting an establishment which, if not an absolute necessity, may prove to be a great public convenience."

The result of this was that the Council referred the matter to the committee on ordinances and the city attorney to have the legal defects remedied, and later in the year passed an ordinance prescribing the duties of the keeper of the morgue, and establishing rules for the conduct of the establishment, as the mayor advised.

It is interesting to see how the Council, while it was pressed by public opinion to apparently regard the mayor's business-like recommendations, sought in one way and another to evade them. Had it been a less able and persistent man with whom they had to deal, they would have succeeded. Take, for instance, that matter of the official printing, to which the mayor referred in his message. After what he had said, the Council was actually compelled to advertise for bids for the work; but the facts brought out in the contest for the work showed that the city, under the old system of giving out the job to a political favorite, had been paying as high as eighty-five per cent. above the legal rates for the work done.

But, having made a just and business-like contract for the official printing after advertising for bids, a supplementary job was brought in, in the shape of a proposition to print in the German papers a synopsis of the proceedings which were printed, in accordance with the statute, in full in the official paper. It was nothing but a job, although comparatively a small one. The mayor saw it at once, and clapped his veto on the proceedings.

In this veto message, after explaining why such a publication would be of no use to the German citizens of Buffalo, the mayor continued:

"Let me further call your attention to some considerations of a business nature, which I think furnish reasons why the resolution under consideration should not become operative.

"The German newspapers mentioned in the resolutions

depend for their success upon the amount and value of the news or information they furnish to their patrons. We will assume that some account of the proceedings of the Common Council—in other words that a synopsis of such proceedings—is of importance and interest to their readers. I am quite sure that we may safely calculate that from motives of self-interest, the proprietors of these newspapers will publish a synopsis much more satisfactory to their subscribers than any which the city clerk would be apt to prepare; and they would do so for their own profit, and without any compensation from the city. If this is true, the effect of the resolution under consideration is to give these newspapers eight hundred dollars each for doing no more than they will in a sense be obliged to do without it. This comes very near being a most objectionable subsidy, which I think a little reflection will satisfy us all we ought not to encourage, and which I am sure the people are not prepared to tolerate.

“No reason in support of this resolution can be derived from the consideration that we pay an English paper for publishing the official proceedings, and therefore we should pay the German papers for publishing a synopsis. A sufficient answer to this argument is that the Legislature has wisely or unwisely provided in our charter that the journal of the proceeding of the Common Council shall be published in the official paper, and in this matter we have no discretion. A proposition to pay any other English paper to publish the proceedings or a synopsis of them would meet with general disapproval.

“By advertising for bids before designating the official paper your Honorable Body has very properly, it seems to me, established the principle that all the publishing done for the city, should be open to competition and awarded to the lowest bidder. And yet by the terms of the resolution under consideration, a certain sum of money is given to the

papers mentioned without even any specification of the amount of work to be done therefor.

"This is such a departure from correct business methods, and from the rule so lately and so commendably adopted by your Honorable Body, that if there were no other reasons I should deem this abundantly sufficient for my action in withholding my assent to the resolution herewith returned."

Thus, in small matters as in large interests, Mayor Cleveland looked carefully after the public interests. It was a herculean work that he had undertaken, to compel an observance of business principles in a government in which jobbery and favoritism had ruled so long; but he kept at it. Thus, before the first month of his administration had closed, the Council proposed the following resolution, looking to the reform of one of the minor abuses which he had criticised:

"WHEREAS, The present method employed in the payment of the salaries of the officers and employés of the city is not only clumsy and complicated, but involves a vast amount of unnecessary labor as well as needless expense, and tends to encourage the practice of assigning claims for salaries in advance of the date of their payment; therefore,

"Resolved, That the following plan for the payment of salaries of the officers and employés of the city be hereafter substituted in lieu of the system hitherto in use, to wit:

"Upon the presentation of the pay rolls by the heads of departments to the city clerk, a certified transcript thereof shall be made and presented to the Council, and a warrant may be ordered in favor of the comptroller for the aggregate amount of the rolls, to enable him to pay the same. Said transcript shall contain a space for the signature of the payees of the roll, to receipt the amount due them, and the comptroller shall accept the signature of no person to such receipts except of the persons named in the pay roll, unless it shall be shown to him that the person or persons entitled

to the compensation is or are sick or otherwise prevented from applying in person therefor. The original pay rolls shall be filed and placed in the manuscript minutes of the Council, and the certified transcript shall be filed in the comptroller's office."

The mayor's recommendations were, under the pressure of public sentiment, adopted one after the other, with more or less honest intention of carrying them out, and the small reforms gradually aggregated something considerable in the way of a better system.

CHAPTER XIII.

Business Principles Introduced in the City Government.—The Great Sewer Contract.—The Health of the City Suffering.—An Intercepting Sewer Proposed.—The Big Job that was Contemplated.—Mayor Cleveland Advises a Commission.—His Contest with the Council.—He Wins and Saves the City Nearly a Million Dollars.

In great matters as well as small, Mayor Cleveland was alert in the work of placing the administration of the city departments on a sound business basis. This was the work he had been elected to perform by citizens who had become indignant and disgusted with the jobbery and extravagance of the rule of a Republican ring. And they had chosen just the man for the work. The training of his life had been in the direction of sound, honest, business methods, and his wonderful ability to grasp the details and master the larger and more comprehensive requirements of the administrative situation, enabled him to meet any demand upon him.

One of the most important problems which met him at the opening of his term of office was the improvement of the sewerage system of the city of Buffalo. He had recognized this in his inaugural message, and his views as to the necessity of the work were indorsed by citizens and by the health authorities of the city. In a communication to the Board of Health, the health physician made the following statement :

“At your last regular meeting in a statement to you re-

garding the health of our city and its standing in this regard among the cities of the United States, I was obliged to say that Buffalo ranked as not a healthy city. You ordered me to present in writing my authority for the assertion and to point out, if possible, the causes which have produced the unusual mortality reported to your Board, in order that proper measures may be adopted to diminish our unnecessarily large death rate. My authority is the National Board of Health at Washington.

* * * * *

"The explanation, I think, is not difficult, and happily it can be remedied. Buffalo should be what we once supposed it was, one of the healthiest cities in our land. Our climate is delightful and healthful excepting during two or three spring months. The land upon which it is built is sufficiently high to give good drainage. Our water is not excelled in quality, and in quantity it is absolutely inexhaustible. What then are the causes that run up our mortality rate as compared to other and less favorably situated cities. As chief causes I would mention insufficient sewerage, and as a natural consequence poisoned well water; uncleanness of houses and surroundings, the keeping of large numbers of cattle, crowded together in poorly ventilated buildings; overcrowded schoolrooms, and lastly the Hamburg canal.

"Perhaps many citizens would have placed my last-mentioned cause first as a destroyer of life. I have placed it last advisedly believing as I do that it produces less sickness and death than the others named. It is, however, a great nuisance, and undoubtedly causes a large amount of sickness.

"The remedies are self evident, and only require money intelligently expended. I would provide a way to thoroughly sewer every part of the city, then close up every well,

and prohibit the digging of any new ones. This would necessitate the introduction of Niagara water into every house ; oblige citizens to keep their houses and surroundings clean ; prohibit the keeping of large numbers of cattle or other animals in the populated portions of the city ; build more school-houses, and push forward to early completion the intercepting sewer.

“Nothing that I have suggested is impracticable, and unless these suggestions are carried out in whole or in part, Buffalo may some day rival in the death rate Salt Lake City with its polygamous institutions.”

This condition of things had not been unobserved by preceding governments, and the Common Council of the year before had decided to build an intercepting sewer and had advertised for proposals. Under the old management, such an advertisement was only the announcement of a big job, and the jobbers promptly put in an appearance. The lowest bid for the work as proposed was \$1,568,000. This was the situation when Mayor Cleveland came into office. He saw that the city was to be robbed, and he at once proposed a means for saving the public from the imposition, and at the same time securing the performance of the work in a more satisfactory manner. In a message to the Common Council in February, he made the following recommendations :

“I believe it is conceded by all, that there is at present nothing so important to the welfare of our city as the construction of the intercepting sewer, which has been the subject of so much discussion ; and the same reasons which render this important make it necessary that the work should be quickly done, and well done. And yet, though considerable time and labor have been bestowed upon the subject, and though much preliminary work has been done, we are not at the threshold of actual performance.

“Thus valuable time is lost, and the danger to our citi-

zens and the damage to the fair fame of our city continues.

"I do not think that your Honorable Body is at fault for this delay, for all must admit that this matter has of late occupied much of your time and attention.

"The construction of this sewer is, I believe, the most extensive work, and will probably involve more expenditure and more care and attention than any ever before attempted in the city. It should meet all the necessities of the future and anticipate the needs of the increased growth and progress which awaits us.

"There should be no mistake made in locating the sewer ; and the manner of its construction should be superintended and constantly watched by the best engineering skill and care. I understand that three years is the least estimate of the time required for its completion, during which period the terms of all the present city officers will expire.

"The advantage of having the work commenced and completed under the same management must be obvious.

"The character of the work is such that it is hardly possible that a contract can be made covering all contingencies and which would need no modification during the progress of construction ; while unforeseen and unexpected conditions that are likely to be met should be promptly and vigorously dealt with.

"Your Honorable Body has quite enough to occupy your time in the ordinary matters connected with municipal affairs, which from week to week are urged upon your consideration ; and our city engineer and his corps of assistants, should be constantly employed in the city's current affairs which necessarily fall to his department.

"Under these circumstances I beg leave to suggest that the construction of the contemplated sewer be put in the hands of a commission of our citizens, who shall have full charge of the work.

"Of course the success of this scheme depends very much upon the men who are selected as commissioners ; but I believe that we have men among us who will accept the positions, whose leisure will enable them to devote the necessary time to the matter, and whose energy and practical ability will insure the speedy and successful accomplishment of the work.

"It does no harm to bring the non-office holding portion of the community into more intimate relation with public affairs ; and I should think it very strange if the importance of the subject would not suggest to all who are mindful of the welfare of the city, the necessity of a united effort on the part of private citizens as well as officials, to protect our interests from the dangers which threaten them.

"The private citizen has no right to stand aloof and refuse to thus aid when called on, unless he is prepared to share the consequences of neglect.

"I am satisfied that a commission, properly selected, to prosecute this work, would be the means of saving much time and money, and that the sewer would be better and more thoroughly built than in any other way.

"I therefore recommend that measures be taken to secure the passage of a law organizing such a commission, with full control of the construction of this sewer ; and that in the same bill such provisions may be incorporated as are necessary to provide for the payment of the expenses of the work."

This did not suit the Common Council, or the department officials, or in fact, any of the adherents of the old order of things. To take out of the hands of the municipal ring the biggest and fattest job that had ever been known in the city of Buffalo, was not to their taste at all. As they had laid out the scheme, there was a great deal of money in it for them and for their friends, and they were dismayed

at the proposition to remove the plunder from their grasp.

First came a protest from the city engineer. This official, at the very next meeting after that at which the mayor's message, proposing a sewer commission, was received, sent in a communication as follows :

"The communication of His Honor the Mayor to the Council on the 20th ultimo seems to convey the impression that the work of constructing the proposed intercepting sewer should be taken from this department, and placed in the hands of a commission, who are to have the exclusive control of the work. While I have no desire to interfere with any proposition which may seem to promote a speedy and energetic prosecution of this important work, I beg leave respectfully to state that in my opinion any change from the ordinary course pursued in works of this character would result in permanent loss and injury to the records of this department. The only question to be considered is one of location, and this can be determined by your Honorable Body when the report in preparation is submitted to you. After the plans and details are made, the mere work of construction is the simplest part of it, care being taken to have it carried forward in strict accordance with the specifications. The immense cost of the work seems to have conveyed the impression to the non-professional mind that it requires great engineering ability to accomplish it. It is simply the making of a cut or tunnel of sufficient capacity in which to lay the sewer upon foundations used upon works of this character ; and the remaining one of simply turning a stream of water from one channel into another, a work requiring no extraordinary feat of engineering, or such as to require the employment of another engineer to take charge of the work of construction. In reference to the work being carried on and completed under one management, it is only necessary to call your attention to the fact that the best

work done in the sewer department of this office, that of the Fillmore Avenue sewer, was executed under different administrations. Very few important engineering works have been commenced and completed by one engineer. The plans and specifications having been approved, and the contract let, there is little danger of faulty construction if careful supervision is continued. I therefore respectfully submit that the work, upon which so much labor has been expended in this office, be left under the control of this department. While I have no fear but that the work can be successfully and satisfactorily done, I would be pleased to have a consulting engineer, of acknowledged ability in this specialty, associated with me, and that the force of assistants in this office be increased during this progress of the work as the necessities may require. If it be deemed advisable to have a local commission of the citizens also associated with the engineer for the purpose of awarding the contracts and overseeing the work as well, there would be no objection to such course."

The city engineer was apparently put forward to draw the fire of the mayor. He was a convenient instrument for the opposition to use in making objection to the plan which was to deprive them of their job. The mayor, however, was not engaged in a quarrel with any official; he was simply trying to secure the adoption of a plan which would benefit the city, save the people's money, and avoid jobbery.

At the succeeding meeting he sent in a message on the subject that is a model of policy, as well as of good sense. Following is this document:

"On the twentieth day of February last I submitted to your Honorable Body a communication suggesting, for the reasons therein assigned, the organization of a commission of citizens for the purpose of constructing the intercepting sewer.

"I did not propose this until quite some reflection, and the advice of gentlemen in whose judgment I have the greatest confidence, had satisfied me that the plan suggested would insure the prompt, efficient, and economical accomplishment of the work.

"I am confirmed in my belief on this subject by the unanimous indorsement of the press and the general approval of our tax-paying citizens.

"It was lately announced in the public prints that the committee on sewers, having the entire matter in charge, had determined to recommend the adoption of the suggestion for the creation of a sewer commission.

"At the last session of your Honorable Body, and before any report was made by the committee, a communication seems to have been received from the engineer of the city, seriously objecting to the plan for a commission, on the ground that it would take the work from his department. He further states that the only question to be considered in connection with the matter, is one of location, which can be determined by your Honorable Body, when the report now in preparation is submitted to you; that the work of construction is not difficult, being simply the making of a cut or tunnel of sufficient capacity in which to lay the sewer upon proper foundations, and the turning of one stream of water into another. He appears to see no force in the suggestion that it might be better for the work to be constructed entirely under the same management and supervision, and concludes by asking 'that the work upon which so much labor has been expended in this office be left under the control of this department,' and that 'the force of assistants in his office be increased during the progress of the work, as the necessities may require.'

"So much of the communication as refers to the employ-

ment of more assistants in the engineer's office seems to have been adopted.

"This action of your Honorable Body I cannot approve, as I do not see why it does not allow the engineer to increase his force of assistants in his discretion. This is, of course, a power that ought not to be conferred on any city officer.

"It seems to me that the good taste of the engineer is not conspicuous in thus putting forward his official pride as a reason why any particular plan, looking to the accomplishment of this very important work, should not be adopted. At a time like this, when everybody is or should be anxious to be speedily rid of our city's disgrace, no such consideration ought to intervene.

"But I am utterly amazed to learn at this late day, from the engineer's communication, that the job we have on hand is such an easy one.

"Every member of your Honorable Body knows very well that for many years the problem of how an intercepting sewer should be constructed, and especially how the Main and Hamburg streets canal nuisance should be abated, has occupied more or less the attention of our city officials. I find in the Council proceedings of eleven years ago that this canal was declared a great nuisance, and various schemes were discussed for its abatement.

"I think about that time the city was indicted for its maintenance.

"Various expedients were subsequently canvassed by successive city engineers and Common Councils, but the actual result of all their endeavors to master this easy subject has been the establishment of a wheel in the water adjoining the canal, causing something of a current, thus, as is alleged, carrying the smell of our nuisance to the districts of the inhabitants of Tonawanda, ten miles away,

and Lockport, more than twenty miles away, who now threaten to institute legal proceedings against us on account of it.

"On the twenty-ninth day of March, 1880, your Honorable Body, by resolution, directed the engineer then in office to associate with him one or more sanitary engineers to assist him in perfecting his plans for the sewerage of the city, and 'especially for a speedy and permanent abatement of the Hamburg canal nuisance, and that the comptroller be requested to include in his estimates for the year 1880 the sum of three thousand dollars to defray the expenses attending the preliminary work or plans, and to pay said sanitary engineers.'

"Under this resolution the city engineer did call to his aid two distinguished non-resident engineers. After going over the whole ground with great care they made a report, dated the twenty-ninth day of July, 1880, in which they submit a plan for the sewerage of the city, which, as they say, will abate the Hamburg canal nuisance.

"Their plan was to build the sewer partly in the Hamburg canal. I suppose the money appropriated was spent.

"About a year later three more engineers, more renowned than those previously employed, were called on by the city authorities to devise the best means of sewerage of our city and abating our nuisance.

"They reported just prior to the 1st of January, 1882, in favor of a sewer to be constructed in, or by tunnel under, Seneca street.

"At the last meeting of your Honorable Body the sum of three thousand seven hundred and eight dollars and nine cents were ordered paid for the services of the last-named engineers.

"On the ninth day of January, 1882, the present engineer was directed by your Honorable Body 'to prepare pro-

files and plans for an intercepting sewer embodying the suggestions in the report of the experts who have examined into the subject ; also, to examine into and report upon the advisability of constructing said sewer from the mill race sewer at Seneca street through Swan street to the Terrace, and report the same to this Council at an early date as practicable, with an estimate of the cost of the same.

"Nearly four months have elapsed since the passage of this resolution, and no report from the engineer is forthcoming. I suppose it is this which he informs your Honorable Body is in course of preparation, and which will enable you to locate the sewer.

"Perhaps this will recommend a sewer in and under Swan street.

"Not a stroke of real work has yet been done, and yet there seems to have been considerable skillful engineering talent employed, at quite an expense. So far as we have gone, either the work has not been easy or considerable money has been wasted.

"Is there one of your Honorable Body who is willing to consider that the construction of this great sewer upon either of the routes that may be suggested, involving, as it must, deep and extensive excavation in and tunneling under our streets, with the unknown and unforeseen difficulties that may be met, is an easy matter, not requiring engineering skill?

"I must confess, that to my non-professional mind such a thing seems inconceivable.

"I am very far from saying that whatever engineering skill is necessary is not found in our present engineer's department. But I think this skill should be constantly applied in watching the prosecution of the work ; and other duties of the department will not admit of this.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that there must be an

advantage in having the same engineer supervise the whole work, and this we cannot be sure of if it be left solely to our engineer.

"It seems to me this sewer would be more promptly built by a commission having it in charge as their business ; and that in the very nature of things the expenditures connected with its construction can be more carefully watched than by your Honorable Body who have so many other urgent matters constantly in charge.

"In whatever way the work is done, we shall all, I hope, have an opportunity to help it on.

"I beg leave to assure your Honorable Body that I myself have no undue pride of opinion on this subject. I advocate the establishment of a commission to do this work because it promises the best results. The details of the matter I have given but little attention to, and I am by no means committed to any particular provisions for the perfection of the plans."

• But the Common Council was only too ready for the pay. It would not accept the friendly overtures of the mayor looking toward co-operation, but at once arrayed itself in open defiance. A bill had been introduced in the legislature authorizing the appointment of a sewer commission as the mayor had recommended, and this increased the apprehensions of the ring. So the Council replied to the message of the mayor with the following resolution :

"WHEREAS, The Common Council of the city of Buffalo at its last meeting, were presented with a communication from the city engineer, Thomas S. Rogers, protesting against the appointment of a sewer commission for the construction of the intercepting sewer, and recommended the matter of constructing said sewer be left in the charge of him and the Common Council ; and

"WHEREAS, The Council did adopt his recommendation

as it had been clearly shown that all the difficult part for the engineer of said work has been done at a cost of over \$10,000 through said office, and as we have a competent engineer to superintend the construction of the work ;

'WHEREAS, The daily papers have published an act introduced before the Legislature of this State by Senator Titus from this district, for the appointment of a commission to take charge of the construction of said sewer ; now be it hereby

"RESOLVED, That we, the Common Council of the city of Buffalo, being the representatives of the people, and believing we know what they want, hereby disapprove of said action of the said Senator Titus, and respectfully ask him to withdraw said bill or such portion thereof as relates to an appointment of said commission, and that the city clerk be directed to forward a copy of this resolution to said Senator Titus."

To this resolution of open war, the mayor replied in his usual self-contained manner at the following meeting of the Council. After reciting the preamble and resolutions as quoted above, he proceeded to say :

"I take this occasion to say that I do not feel called upon, in all cases, to officially approve or disapprove resolutions of this description, which do not constitute municipal legislation, and which in many cases are but the expression of opinion touching matters over which neither you nor I have any control. When such action is presented to me, as a part of the proceeding of your Honorable Body, I shall feel at perfect liberty to express my approval or dissent, or, if I see fit, withhold any action on my part, to the end that both of us may enjoy the liberty of holding and expressing our opinions, unembarrassed by the other, as to all matters which do not pertain to the ordinary management of munic-

ipal affairs, and which the Legislature has not placed in our keeping.

"In regard to the preamble and resolution which I have quoted, I desire to express my disapproval of the same, in its entire scope and meaning.

"It recited that your Honorable Body has adopted a recommendation of the city engineer, that the matter of the construction of the intercepting sewer be left in his charge and that of the Common Council.

"I do not understand this to be the attitude of your Honorable Body, and I do not believe a majority of its members are prepared to take such a position.

"I am in favor of putting the construction of this sewer in the hands of a commission for reasons which I have heretofore given at length, and which involve no lack of confidence in your Honorable Body nor in any department of the city government.

"I firmly believe that a majority of the people who are to be taxed to pay for this work are also in favor of this plan.

"I am inclined to think that the location or route of the sewer should be fixed by your Honorable Body, and that the commission to execute the work should be appointed here instead of being named in the act authorizing its creation. My judgment is that the bill lately presented in the Senate touching this subject, might well be modified in these and perhaps other particulars.

"But if I dissent from all the provisions of the bill, and even from the principle upon which it is based, I could not adopt the language of the preamble and resolution, which, it seems to me, savors of a not over-courteous dictation to our Senator, for whose ability I have the greatest respect, and in whose honesty of purpose I have the greatest confidence.

"I have no doubt the rights and interests of the people

in this matter, so far as State legislation is concerned, can be safely left in the keeping of those who represent our citizens in the two branches of the State Legislature."

Public sentiment had, from the first, been strongly with the mayor and against the Council ring. The effect of this opinion began to be felt about this time, and the Council relaxed in some degree its hostility, and made an attempt to accomplish the same end by indirection. The big job of a million and a half was given up, and the city engineer was directed to advertise for proposals for the construction of the sewer in five directions; and instead of condemning Senator Titus' bill, the Council only advised its amendment in accordance with the suggestion of the mayor. But, meantime, while pretending to have given up this opposition, the Council had a bill prepared which, while providing for a commission, left the commissioners mere figureheads, with no control over the conduct of the business in any way. They proposed, in short, to let the mayor have his commission, but to tie the hands of the commissioners and get their jobs just the same.

But Mayor Cleveland was not only very much in earnest, but also very watchful of his antagonists. He at once sent in his disapproval in a message, in which he said:

"On the 17th day of April, 1882, there was adopted by your Honorable Body a substitute for the bill which had been prepared by the city attorney for the purpose of creating a commission to construct the intercepting sewer. At the same meeting the city clerk was directed by resolution to forward such substitute to our representatives at Albany. And at the last session of your Honorable Body a resolution was adopted directing the city attorney to proceed to Albany immediately to urge the passage of said substituted bill.

"I cannot approve of the action of your Honorable Body above referred to.

"I have examined the provisions of the proposed bill carefully, and so far as I can understand them they provide for the creation of a commission which is invested with no duties of any great importance and with no powers except very subordinate ones. I cannot see that the commissioners contemplated by the act would be more than dignified inspectors of the work therein mentioned.

"My ideas in regard to the appointment of commissioners to further the construction of this work, are too well known to need repetition here. I very much regret that there is not perfect agreement between us on this subject. I certainly expected that the provisions of the bill prepared by the city attorney, by which your Honorable Body were to join in determining the route of the sewer, and in naming the commissioners under whose charge it should be constructed, would enable us to act together in an honest and hearty endeavor to push this great work to a satisfactory and speedy conclusion, and thus answer the hopes and wishes of our fellow-citizens.

"It certainly never entered my mind to ask any of our citizens to assume such offices as are provided for in the substitute adopted by your Honorable Body; and I am fully satisfied that a commission thus organized would be next to useless in the accomplishment of any good results. Its creation would, in my opinion, have the effect to divide responsibility without any corresponding benefit.

"Rather than this, I think it would be better to abandon the idea of a commission entirely."

Thus ended the active opposition of the Common Council to the mayor's plan of a sewer commission. The act authorizing the appointment was passed, and Mayor Cleveland's first victory was won.

Pending its progress, however, the Council had asked that the city should have authority to issue bonds to pay the

cost of constructing the proposed sewer. This did not commend itself to Mayor Cleveland's business sense, and he refused to sign the resolution, making this request of the Legislature. He said :

"I am opposed to such a postponement of the payment for this work ; and I am quite sure that a majority of our tax-paying citizens are not in favor of thus increasing the bonded debt of the city. If we experience a fair portion of the prosperity which we expect in the near future it will be no very great hardship to pay the cost of the sewer by installments distributed through ten years, as is proposed by the terms of the bill now before the Legislature. This paying year by year, if we are able to do so, to my mind accords more with correct business principles than an unnecessary postponement and the payment of interest in the mean time."

Then came the appointment of the board of commissioners under the act authorizing it. And here the Common Council made their last fight against the reform mayor on this question.

Mayor Cleveland sent in his appointments on the twelfth of June for confirmation by the Council. They were laid on the table for a week, while the opposition mustered its forces. Then they were taken off the table and rejected. The mayor as promptly re-appointed the same citizens, sending in their names again at the next meeting of the Council, with the following message :

"The law lately passed by the Legislature, authorizing the appointment of commissioners to construct the intercepting sewer, provides that immediately upon the passage of the act the mayor shall, by and with the advice of your Honorable Body, appoint such commissioners.

"Anticipating the passage of the law, I devoted a good deal of time and thought to their selection, and was thus able to send it to you for confirmation, at the next meeting

of your Honorable Body after the approval of the act, the names of five of our fellow-citizens who were willing to act as such commissioners.

"It being conceded on all hands that the character and standing of these gentlemen, and their entire freedom from any inclination to enrich contractors at the expense of the people, was a perfect guarantee that this work, under their supervision, would be faithfully and economically done, I flattered myself that they would receive your prompt confirmation.

"I cannot but think, that their rejection at the last meeting of your Honorable Body was the result of haste and confusion.

"We all agree that this work should not be delayed.

"If I should see fit to attempt to submit other names, such as I am willing to be responsible for, it would be impossible to do so for some time to come.

"In the mean time, with this delay, and the vacation of your Honorable Body during the month of July much valuable time will be lost.

"I am convinced that a majority of your Honorable Body do not care to be chargeable with this result.

"I assure you that it is no easy task to find fit men who are willing to gratuitously undertake this work; and in no event would I ever nominate men who did not have the fitness and ability of those already submitted to you."

The appointments were this time confirmed at once; for the Council was in a scared and gentle mood, having in the mean time had a remarkable experience with the reform mayor, which will be related in the following chapter.

Thus Buffalo secured its new commission, under whose management the great work has been skillfully planned, at an estimated cost of \$764,370. By his action in this matter alone, Mayor Cleveland saved the city of Buffalo \$803,630.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Great Street-Cleaning Job.—Reform in the Manner of Awarding Contracts.—Wastefulness in Public Expenditure Checked.—A Frightened Council.—Very Plain Language from Mayor Cleveland.—The Veto Message that made him Famous as a Reformer.

The story of Mayor Cleveland's successful fight for the establishment of a sewer commission, has been told at length because it so well illustrates the character of the man, his earnestness, his unwavering fidelity to the purpose in mind, his readiness of resource, his clear perception and his administrative skill.

This was doubtless the most important work that Mayor Cleveland accomplished during his short term of office ; but it was perhaps less brilliant than his attack upon and utter rout of the street-cleaning gang. This latter exploit, which gave him his first wide reputation as an executive of extraordinary powers, culminated at the same time as the sewer business ; and, together with that notable victory, it put a quietus upon the jobbing element for the rest of the year. It settled the question as to Mayor Cleveland's sincerity in the matter of municipal reform, and his ability to carry out his ideas on that subject.

The cleaning of the streets of Buffalo, as let out by the city to individual contractors, formed a job in which there was a great deal of money if it was shrewdly managed. The year that Mayor Cleveland came into office, the ring

had determined to make it a better thing than ever, and so contrived a scheme by which the contract should be made to serve for five years, and one of their number got the contract at a fat price. The Council was manipulated so that the plan should find no opposition, and all was arranged with skill and care for what was to be the richest "spoils" of the year.

On the nineteenth of June, then, the Common Council passed this order :

"That the street commissioner be and he is hereby directed to contract with George Talbot for sweeping and cleaning the streets and alleys of the city of Buffalo for a term of five years, in accordance with the advertisement of the street commissioner June 5, 1882, and in accordance with the specifications adopted by this Common Council April 10, 1882, at his bid of \$422,500."

There was some little difference among the aldermen over this award, as the prize was such a rich one that several wanted it for their especial friends, and a number of votes were taken before the log-rolling and dicker resulted in the award to Mr. Talbot. There were several lower bids for the same work. Indeed, Mr. Talbot had raised his figures as soon as the combination of jobbers was made that assured him of his contract. In fact, it was a remarkably fine illustration of the very things against which the citizens of Buffalo had rebelled when they elected Grover Cleveland to purify their city government from jobbery and corruption.

He came to the front promptly and energetically. But in the mean time the members of the Council had received intimation of what was coming, and a perfect panic struck them.

It was only one short week between the award of this contract and the next meeting when Mayor Cleveland's

OF

OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

So when the Common Council was called upon to explain, apologize, and express their opinions, a ludicrous spectacle was presented. They fully felt the storm of June, a ludicrous expression exhibited. There was a scene of the week before. and expressions from the storm.

The chairman was first in the order of business, and he got down to order himself, and he finally said, "Public sentiment is the only basis for a contract in accordance with the public sentiment."

"Public sentiment seems to me to have been formed, until it became apparent from his contract in accordance with one who attempted to put to rout in insist upon forcing a manifestly unchanged ; but I bow to the lapse of time for my another, vindication, beginning :
"MR. PRESIDENT :

privilege. I have life

"MR. PRESIDENT: I have no doubt that I am very sorry for long and so hard to explain as well as I can.

...I have no doubt I made the greatest mistake of my life, and
knows full well to what I refer. I voted to award the
tract for street-cleaning to George Talbot, last May, and
I am very sorry for it. My reputation, which I
long and so hard to establish, is at stake, and
explain as well as I can my position in the matter.

not intend, neither will I try, to lay the blame on any one besides myself. I will not try to raise myself up by implicating or belittling any member of this Council. I simply propose to tell the truth ; and if, after I have told you my story, it can be shown that I have stated that which is not true, then I am ready and willing to take the consequences. While I am fully conscious that I cannot show that I was justified in doing as I did, yet there are mitigating circumstances connected with it which I am in duty bound to myself, to my constituents, and to this Council, to make known.

So they went on ; and when all who cared to speak had finished, there came the mayor's message, scorching the derelict Council like a whirlwind of fire :

“BUFFALO, June 26, 1882.

“I return without my approval the resolution of your Honorable Body, passed at its last meeting, awarding the contracts for cleaning the paved streets and alleys of the city for the ensuing five years to George Talbot, at his bid of four hundred and twenty-two thousand and five hundred dollars.

“The bid thus accepted by your Honorable Body is more than one hundred thousand dollars higher than that of another perfectly responsible party for the same work ; and a worse or more suspicious feature in this transaction is that the bid now accepted is fifty thousand dollars more than that made by Mr. Talbot himself within a very few weeks, openly and publicly to your Honorable Body, for performing precisely the same services. This latter circumstance is, to my mind, the manifestation on the part of the contractor of a reliance upon the forbearance and generosity of your Honorable Body, which would be more creditable if it were less expensive to the taxpayers.

“I am not aware that any excuse is offered for the acceptance of this proposal, thus increased, except the very

flimsy one that the lower bidders cannot afford to do the work for the sums they name.

“This extreme tenderness and consideration for those who desire to contract with the city, and this touching and paternal solicitude lest they should be improvidently led into a bad bargain, is, I am sure, an exception to general business rules, and seems to have no place in this selfish, sordid world, except as found in the administration of municipal affairs.

“The charter of your city requires that the mayor, when he disapproves any resolution of your Honorable Body, shall return the same with his objections.

“This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your Honorable Body, now under consideration, shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same, because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people, and to worse than squander the public money.

“I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I can not and will not suspect of a willful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect ; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences, both in and about your Honorable Body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

“When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your Honorable Body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence.

"If the scandal in connection with this street-cleaning contract, which has so roused our citizens, shall cause them to select and watch with more care those to whom they intrust their interests, and if it serves to make all of us who are charged with official duties more careful in their performance, it will not be an unmitigated evil.

"We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people, either in or out of your Honorable Body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly.

"GROVER CLEVELAND, Mayor."

This is, without doubt, the most terribly scathing message ever sent by an executive to a legislative body. It breathes in every line, in every word, the red-hot indignation and disgust of a thoroughly honest man at corruption and dishonesty. Its sentences blistered the ears of the aldermen, while they acknowledged the justice of the punishment by at once rescinding the award which a week before they had made to the representative of ring interests.

At the following meeting of the Council the contract was awarded to Captain Thomas Maytham, the lowest bidder, for \$313,500. By this veto, then, Mayor Cleveland saved \$109,000 to the city treasury.

This veto, as has been said, first gave Grover Cleveland wide celebrity as a reform executive, and to this, more than to any other one act of his administration as Mayor of Buffalo, may be attributed his choice as the leader of reform in wider fields of action.

The vitality of the ring, however, was remarkable; for even this terrible exposure and castigation did not finally annihilate the combination. An attempt was made, later on, to undo what had been done by crowding out the con-

tractor to whom the work had been awarded, and putting it back in the hands of the street commissioner. This official, who had no reason to love the mayor who had not hesitated to point out the waste and jobbery in his department, readily lent himself to the scheme; and, as a result, the following order was adopted by the Council on the 31st of July, the day before work under the contract was to begin:

"That the street commissioner is hereby directed to notify the lowest bidder for cleaning the streets and alleys to immediately file the bond and execute a contract in accordance with the specifications on file in the street commissioner's office before twelve o'clock to-night (July 31, 1882), and if the same is not so made and filed, then the street commissioner is hereby directed to clean and sweep the streets and alleys of the city in accordance with said plans and specifications until further order of this Council."

If this order had taken effect, the new contractor would have been unable to begin work, for it had been ingeniously arranged by the Council and the street commissioner that he should be kept in ignorance of the nature of the bond or the qualifications of the sureties that would be required of him. The whole business would then have fallen back into the hands of the ring. But Mayor Cleveland put himself again in the breach, stopped the trick with his veto, and again defeated the jobbers, this time finally. The veto message, which shows up the conspiracy in very clear style, was as follows:

"I return, without my approval, a resolution passed by your Honorable Body on the thirty-first day of July, requiring the lowest bidder for cleaning the paved streets and alleys of the city to execute a contract to do the work, and to furnish a bond for the performance of the same, before the day ended on which the resolution was passed; and in

default thereof, that the street commissioner continue to do the work.

"In the resolution of your Honorable Body, by which Mr. Maytham's bid for this work was accepted, and the street commissioner was directed to contract with him, no time was fixed within which the contract was to be executed or the bond furnished. Under these circumstances the contractor was entitled to a reasonable time for that purpose. He immediately and in good faith began his preparations to do the work, and incurred considerable expense for necessary equipments.

"In the mean time a resolution was introduced in your Honorable Body, prescribing certain qualifications for the sureties who should sign the bond of the contractor. This resolution was referred to the committee on streets. After such reference and a number of days prior to the passage of the resolution herewith returned, Mr. Maytham declared his readiness to enter into the written contract and to furnish such bond as should be required by the officer whose duty it was to approve the same. But the resolution in regard to the qualification of the sureties was still before the street committee. In respectful deference to your Honorable Body I was willing to hear any reasonable suggestion that might be made as to the performance of my duty in approving the bond. With this in view and in order to allow the street committee to present a report in the matter, and to permit your Honorable Body to act thereon, I advised the postponement of the execution of the contract and bond until after another meeting of the Council.

"At that meeting, instead of any report from the committee being presented or any suggestion by your Honorable Body as to the sureties which should be approved, the resolution returned herewith was adopted.

"It is entirely certain that Mr. Maytham's rights under

the action heretofore had cannot be diverted in this way, and if they could it is quite manifest that such a course would be exceedingly unjust and unfair.

"Mr. Maytham entered upon the performance of the work he agreed to do under his bid on the first day of August. On the fourth day of August he executed the written contract required of him, and furnished a satisfactory bond for its fulfillment, which was duly approved by me and filed.

"I think I can safely congratulate your Honorable Body, and our citizens generally, that this contract will be well and faithfully performed; and you will agree with me that if the contractor evinces an honest determination to meet his obligations under the contract which he has entered into, all good citizens should aid and encourage him, to the end that our city may be redeemed from the reproach of filthy streets."

This ended the contest. The victory of the reform mayor was won.

CHAPTER XV.

Mayor Cleveland Introduces Business Principles in Other Departments.—Extra Payment for Regular Service Refused.—The Question of Horse Hire.—A Rebuke to Illegal Appropriations.—The Council Attempts to Wear the Mayor Out.—The Street Commissioner's Horse and Buggy.—Who Paid for Them.—A Rattling Veto Message.

In almost every branch of the public service, Mayor Cleveland found a looseness and a tendency to small jobbery which required correction; and while many of his vetoes related to matters of small pecuniary moment, they are all interesting as illustrating his steady and strong purpose to make the reform in municipal methods one in which principle and not expediency should rule. This thoroughness is characteristic of the man.

It is as one who knew him, but who was opposed to him in politics although advocating his election as mayor, said:

"We know Grover Cleveland. Nearly all of his fellow-citizens are aware of his distinguished abilities and reputation as a lawyer, of his great personal worth, of his unswerving uprightness, and of his high moral courage. But we know something more than all this. It has happened to us to have personal experience of that sleepless vigilance, that tireless devotion, that singular penetration and that broad, good judgment which Mr. Cleveland has always displayed in the interest of his clients, and from which so many have reaped the reward of a righteous verdict. If he is mayor, *the city will be to him as his client*—as a client standing more sorely in need of all his best endeavors than any

one he ever served before—and woe would be to the man that should attempt to rob or otherwise wrong her!”

In small things as well as in great matters, Mayor Cleveland was alert to protect the city. He proclaimed the principle that business ideas must govern every department. A case occurred in the second month of his administration, where the Common Council proposed to give additional pay to a couple of officials who had done certain work for the city out of office hours, although the work so done came within their line of official duty. Mayor Cleveland refused to approve the order for this extra pay, explaining his position in a message, as follows :

“By a resolution adopted by your Honorable Body on the 20th instant, warrants on the treasury were directed to be drawn in favor of J. C. Almendinger and A. P. Mason for \$75.00 each, for extra services performed in the street commissioner’s office in examining the books, etc., of that department in the year 1881.

“On the 28th of November last, Messrs. Almendinger and Mason were duly appointed as assistant street commissioner and clerk to the commissioner respectively, and, as I am informed, were acting as such assistant and clerk at the time of the rendering of the services for the payment of which the orders were directed to be drawn. During all these times they were ‘persons appointed’ under the charter within the meaning of section four of title three of that act, and as their salaries could not be increased or diminished during the period of their appointment, so by the express provision of the section, no extra compensation can be allowed for any services they may have performed while acting as such assistant and clerk.

“It is suggested that the case is not within the prohibition of the statute, for the reason that the work was done out-

side the office and at times not included in the regular office hours. I think there is no force in this suggestion.

"By the terms of the resolution itself, it appears that the extra services performed were fairly embraced in the official duties of the persons performing them. To examine the books and to restore order to the records of the office was, as it seems to me, peculiarly the business of the claimants.

"If the work could not be done in the regular discharge of their duties, additional clerks might have been employed; but they having elected to do the work themselves, they must now be regarded as standing in the attitude of claimants for extra compensation 'for the performance of duties which really pertained to the business of their offices or positions.'

"However meritorious these claims may be, their allowance by the city seems to be prohibited by law. I cannot, therefore, assent to their payment.

"The resolution is hereby returned without my approval."

The same question came up later in the year, in a case in which a clerk in the comptroller's office had a claim for extra work of the same sort. Mayor Cleveland refused to approve the claim, saying:

"This gentleman appears to be a regular employé in the comptroller's office upon an annual salary; and he was paid in full such salary for the month of May. I suppose the claim he now presents is for work done in the comptroller's office on seven evenings during that month. If he did work evenings for a short time, when extra labor in the office was required to be done he did no more than any clerk in the department ought to do. And to allow him extra pay for such work would be a flagrant violation of the constitution of the State of New York and of the provisions of our city charter as well as a disregard of fair and correct business principles."

In another shape, the same issue was presented in November, when the Common Council voted to pay the counsel fees of an official who had been under investigation for alleged neglect of duty. The mayor's reasons for refusing to sign the pay-warrant in this case were as follows :

"At the last meeting of your Honorable Body, a resolution was passed directing a warrant to be drawn in favor of E. C. Hawks, ex-city attorney, for one thousand dollars, in full payment of his counsel fees.

"Although not fully expressed in the resolution, the fees thus directed paid out of the funds of the city are the compensation which three attorneys claim for their defense of Mr. Hawks, upon his trial before the mayor, more than a year ago, on a charge of neglect of duty, preferred against him by the Common Council.

"It is not necessary to recount the circumstances attending the accusation and trial ; but it may not be amiss to state that the conduct of the accused out of which the accusation grew was determined by the mayor to be wrong and unauthorized ; but inasmuch as no bad or corrupt motive existed, the offending city attorney was in no way punished except by a censure. The determination of the mayor, who acted judicially upon such trial, still stands unquestioned and in full force.

"The question is whether the city should pay, under such circumstances, the expense of the accused officer's defense.

"It cannot, I think, be said that the accusation made by the Common Council was based upon improper motives, nor that it was entirely groundless.

"I am very much disinclined to aid in establishing a precedent that the city shall pay the expense of the defense of an official accused of neglect of duty, in case it fails to fully substantiate the charges made. This might result in undue

limitation to prefer charges against officers apparently in default.

"By a preamble to the resolution under consideration, it appears that it was supposed that, because the amount directed paid was included in the annual estimates, and raised for that purpose, therefore it must be appropriated to the payment of this claim. This I think is a mistake. Two things are necessary in order to render the drawing of a warrant proper; there should be provision made to pay it, and it should be determined to be a proper charge. The first of these requisites has been answered by the insertion of the amount in the annual estimates; the second is now under discussion.

"The provision of the charter referred to in the preamble simply prohibits the paying out of money raised for a particular purpose for a different object. I can find no provision which obliges us to expend this money instead of keeping it, in case the purpose for which it was raised appears to be an improper one. Though in the city treasury it still belongs to the people and they rely on us not to appropriate it, under whatever pretext it may have been drawn from them by taxation, except in settlement of a claim which they should pay. I am quite sure we shall be guilty of no neglect of duty nor incur the displeasure of the taxpayers, if the money directed by the resolution under consideration to be paid out is kept on hand, and the burdens of future taxation lessened to that extent."

But, in spite of these constantly recurring vetoes, the Common Council would not learn that Mayor Cleveland was in earnest in his purpose to stop the leaks in the city treasury. They tried first in one way and then in another to circumvent his watchfulness, but at every turn they were met by a reasonable but inflexible barrier in the mayor's veto.

Perhaps the most interesting of these contests between the reform mayor and the jobbing Council was that which took place over the question of allowance for horse hire to the heads of certain departments. It is true that such an allowance was illegal and in violation of the city charter; but it had been counted among those spoils of office to which the ring was entitled by custom, and they tried to get it.

The first case was that of the street commissioner, who, a short time before, had tried and failed to get a little something for extra work. Mayor Cleveland vetoed this little job, again explaining the principle on which he did it, as follows:

"At your meeting on the 27th ultimo, a communication was received from the street commissioner, asking for an order for \$75.00 for livery in his department during the quarter ending March 31st, last.

"On the same day there was also a communication from the clerk of the markets, stating that there would be due to him on April 1st three months' livery, \$50.00, and asking that an order for such amount be drawn in his favor. In both cases the orders requested were directed to be drawn.

"To the propriety of this section I am not able to give my assent.

"It will be seen that in neither case is an account presented for specific expenses actually and necessarily paid in the business of the office. In both cases the claims are for sums assumed to have been periodically and arbitrarily fixed as part of the income and emoluments of these places, and in addition to the salaries before established by your Honorable Body.

"The effect of your action would be to increase these salaries in direct violation of the provisions of the charter.

"On the 27th of February last I sent to the Common

Council a message disapproving the drawing of warrants in favor of two gentlemen who were clerks in a city department for the payment of alleged extra services performed during the period of their clerkships. This disapproval was placed upon the ground that the action of your Honorable Body was, in effect, a violation of the provisions of the charter, to which I have referred, against the increasing of salaries during a term of office, and therefore invalid.

"The case does not differ in principle from the claims now presented.

"Both the street commissioner and the clerk of the markets doubtless knew, before entering upon their offices, the rate of compensation which had been fixed for such offices, and were bound to know the nature of the duties they were to perform. Should the discharge of these duties, in the judgment of the officer, involve the necessity of using and keeping a horse, it should be regarded, as it seems to me, as incidental only to the proper discharge of such duty, and there can be no valid claim for reimbursement against the city.

"I am therefore constrained to return without my approval your resolutions directing orders to be drawn, as above, in favor of the street commissioner and the clerk of the markets for livery."

The Council tried it again. At a subsequent meeting they voted a yet larger amount for the same purpose, and sent this order to the mayor in the hope that possibly they might weary him with their persistence. It was a vain hope. Back came the order, with a message, as follows:

"I return without my approval your resolution of the 15th inst., directing an order to be drawn in favor of the street commissioner for \$100.00, for the use of a horse and wagon for his department from January 1st to May 1st, 1882.

"On the 10th of April last I communicated to your Honorable Body my disapproval of your resolution of March 27th, directing an order in favor of the street commissioner for \$75.00, being the amount due, as was alleged, for the expense of livery for the street department for the quarter ending March 31st, 1882. In the message transmitted on that occasion I stated briefly the reasons for the action I had taken. As the claim then presented and allowed by your Honorable Body was in no substantial respect different from the claim allowed by your resolution of the 15th inst., I respectfully refer you to that message as containing some reasons why, in my opinion, this resolution should not be permitted to take effect.

"In both these cases the claim is for a sum of money at a yearly rate fixed by the commissioner himself for the use of a horse and wagon, owned and kept by himself for his own general purposes, and without the authority or direction of the city.

"Since sending my message of the 10th ultimo, I have further carefully considered the matter of such claims, and find no reason to change or modify the opinion expressed in that message, that their allowance is, in effect if not in intention, the increasing of the salary of the street commissioner as the same had been determined before his election to that office. This salary is the measure of compensation for all the duties which the officer is required to perform, and can no more be increased by the allowance of a yearly sum for the use of a horse and wagon than of a yearly sum for the wages of a servant attached to his person, though such servant might sometimes assist in the discharge of the officer's duties.

"The law is extremely jealous of any attempt to increase the compensation of a public officer during his term of service. The charter of the city expressly forbids it; and to

guard against the uncertainty and possible caprice of legislation a provision to the same effect has been inserted in the Constitution of the State.

“By section twenty-four of article third of that instrument it is declared that the Legislature shall not, nor shall the Common Council of any city, grant any extra compensation to any officer or contractor.

“A provision so wise and salutary should be observed with the most scrupulous care, and the officers of the city should be held, even at the expense of some disappointment, to a strict performance of their duties upon the terms implied by their election.

“The rule of your action, if approved, might be applied to other officers than the street commissioner, and so would grow up a precedent for violating both the law and the constitution in a matter so largely affecting the interests of the taxpayers of the city.”

Finally, one last attempt was made to overcome the mayor's business principles. Another order for a like payment was sent in to him from the Council, and the veto message with which it was sent back was so spicy, and, in fact, so vividly pictures the condition of things against which Mayor Cleveland was contending, that it is given herewith :

BUFFALO, October 16, 1882.

“I return without my approval a resolution passed by your Honorable Body on the second day of October, 1882, directing the city clerk to draw a warrant in favor of Dennis Danahy for ninety-nine dollars for transportation furnished the street department for ten days in June and twenty-three days in July, 1882.

“The transportation spoken of in the resolution consists in the personal use of a horse and buggy by the street commissioner in the performance, I suppose, of his official duty.

"It amounts to nothing more or less than the allowance of livery to the street commissioner.

"But whether it is called transportation or livery this officer has never, to my knowledge, been authorized to make the city liable for anything of this kind.

"Section four of chapter twenty-seven of the ordinances provides as follows :

" 'No officer or employé of the city shall be authorized to contract any debt or incur any expenditure, except pursuant to an ordinance, order or resolution of the Common Council.'

"I do not pass here upon the legal question whether or not the city might be made liable if the acts of its officer, unauthorized in the first instance, was ratified by your Honorable Body ; but I am determined that I will not in this case lend my aid to such ratification.

"On the third day of October, 1881, a resolution was passed by the Common Council declaring it to be the sense of that body that no amount should be included in the estimates or appropriations for the year 1882 for livery for the street commissioner's department, department of public buildings or clerk of the markets. No less than ten of the members of the present Council voted in favor of this resolution.

"I do not claim that this resolution was binding upon any subsequent Common Council, whose duty it should be to fix upon the appropriations for the succeeding year ; but it was passed, and I have been assured that the present street commissioner knew of its passage before he was nominated as a candidate for the office which he now holds. It will be thus seen that he had a very plain hint that any expense for livery in his office was not to be included in his salary, and that he was not justified in supposing that any compensation on that score would be allowed to him.

"At the commencement of his official term he was presented by the inspectors attached to his office, as he himself declared, with a horse, buggy and harness. I do not speak of this to criticise the taste or propriety exhibited by a city officer in accepting such gifts from those who are subject to his direction in the performance of their duty, but rather to show that this official was gratuitously equipped with all that was necessary in the way of livery or transportation.

"Notwithstanding this, on the twenty-seventh day of March, 1882, a communication was sent to your Honorable Body, by the street commissioner, stating that the expense for livery for his department, for the quarter ending March 31st, was due, amounting to \$75.00, and asking that a warrant be drawn in his favor for that amount; thereupon a resolution, directing such order drawn, was passed by your Honorable Body, which action I felt obliged to disapprove.

"On the fifteenth day of May, 1882, another communication was received by your Honorable Body from the street commissioner, stating that there was due for use of a horse and wagon for his department, from January 1st to May 1st, 1882, the sum of \$100.00, as by a voucher submitted, and recommending that a warrant be drawn in his favor to pay the same.

"Pursuant to such recommendation this warrant was ordered drawn by your Honorable Body. This action I also disapproved.

"Very soon after this, I was informed that the street commissioner had disposed of his horse and buggy.

"The claims made by the street commissioner himself, having been disposed of as indicated above, Dennis Danahy, his relative and friend, now presents two accounts against the city, amounting to \$99.00, for the payment of which the warrant now under consideration was directed to be drawn. One of these accounts is stated to be for transportation for

the street department from the nineteenth of June to the thirtieth of June, both inclusive, being ten days at \$3.00 per day; the other is for the use of a horse and buggy from July 1st to the 29th, inclusive. It appears from a statement attached to this account that a charge of \$3.00 is made for every day between the last-named dates, except Sundays, the Fourth of July, and another day, making twenty-three days. I have also before me two other accounts in favor of the same party, one claiming \$69.00 for the month of August, and the other \$78.00 for the month of September.

"It will be thus seen that if these accounts are allowed and paid, this livery or transportation, for which the street commissioner, in the outset, only asked \$300.00 for the year, will cost the city nearly three times that sum.

"It would be much cheaper for us to present this officer with an establishment.

"I cannot forbear alluding to another circumstance. Upon an investigation of this matter I am informed that the horse and buggy, formerly owned by the street commissioner, was up to within two months ago in the stable of the man who presents these accounts.

"This does not necessarily affect the validity of these claims, but it induces me the more earnestly to request your Honorable Body to relieve me from any further consideration of this unpleasant subject.

"GROVER CLEVELAND, Mayor."

This was the end of it. A feeble attempt was made in the Council to lay the mayor's message on the shelf—that is to say, in parliamentary language, on the table,—but it failed. Mayor Cleveland had established his principle.

CHAPTER XVI.

Minor Reforms which Mayor Cleveland Effected.—Wooden Buildings within the Fire Limits.—Jobs for the Newspapers.—Publishing Tax Sales.—Acts of the Legislature.—The Street-Cleaning Contract.—Jobs in Sidewalks and Paving.—A Running Contest with the Ring.—The Mayor Successful.

Mayor Cleveland showed constant vigilance in the protection of the city's interests in every direction. His legal mind corrected many errors of legislation into which the Council quite naturally fell, and his knowledge of affairs enabled him to put a check on careless legislation which was calculated to lead to injury.

Thus, among other things, the Council had got into the habit of granting permission to erect wooden buildings with great laxity as to the conditions under which the leave was granted. Mayor Cleveland called attention to this by refusing his signature to several grants of this sort, saying :

“I think permits of this description should be very sparingly granted. It has been often demonstrated that wooden erections in a large city endanger surrounding property ; and it is perfectly apparent that too much latitude in this direction will in the future prove a detriment to the substantial growth and beauty of our city. I doubt if there is any city in the state in which wooden buildings are so readily allowed to be built as in this.”

The Council did not take the hint conveyed in this message ; but after a second and third veto of similar acts had

followed, they adopted the mayor's suggestion, and amended the city ordinances so as to forbid the granting of any permit to build wooden buildings within certain established "fire limits."

In the matter of public printing, there was a number of jobs projected which came to nothing only because Mayor Cleveland interposed his veto in every case where his ideas of business necessity condemned the expenditure. It has been told how he crushed out the job of publishing the Council proceedings in other papers than that in which the law required them to be published. Soon there came another. The whole story is told in the veto which Mayor Cleveland sent in with the unsigned order :

"At the last meeting of your Honorable Body the following preamble and resolution was adopted :

"Whereas, It is in the interest of the large German class of our taxpayers to be informed of the notice of tax sale by the city of Buffalo ; therefore be it

"Resolved, To publish said tax sale in the three daily German papers of this city, in four different issues of each of them, and at the pro rata rate of the English papers.'

"On the same day it was represented to me that the cost of the publication provided for would be one hundred and fifty dollars for each of the papers mentioned, and that it was necessary that preparations for the publication should be made at once. Upon these representations I signified my approval of the resolution.

"I knew of course that the publication of the notice of tax sale in the German papers was not necessary to the validity of the sale ; but I was willing to assent to the expenditure of four hundred and fifty dollars for this purpose, because I thought it might possibly increase the chance of some of our delinquent German taxpayers paying their

taxes, thus preventing increased expense to them and perhaps the sacrifice of their property.

"A few days afterwards my attention was called particularly to this matter, and upon examination I found to my great surprise that the publication authorized by this resolution involved an expense to the city of nearly four thousand dollars, not one cent of which is specially chargeable upon the land advertised.

"I of course immediately withdrew my approval of the action of your Honorable Body, and notified the proprietors of the German newspapers to that effect.

"No publication has yet been made in any of these papers, though I am informed that the type has been nearly or quite prepared by one of them, which was to be used by all.

"I now return the said resolution without my approval, for the reason that the appropriation of the amount of money thereby authorized, for publishing the matter referred to in the German newspapers, is in violation of the charter.

"If your Honorable Body should, after due deliberation, deem it proper that any of the public money should be spent in this way, I am unable to see why every useful purpose will not be subserved by allowing notice of the sale of lands situated in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh wards to be published twice in each of these papers. The cost of this cannot, I think, exceed two hundred and fifty dollars to each paper.

"Though there may be a slight excuse for my approval of this resolution in the first instance, I desire to acknowledge that my action in the matter was hasty and inconsiderate. A little examination and reflection would have prevented it.

"Allow me to say further, that with a little more attention on the part of your Honorable Body, I am convinced that the resolution herewith returned would not have been presented for my approval.

"I earnestly invite the co-operation of every member of your Honorable Body, by official act and by suggestion to me, to prevent such things in the future."

This was a very delicate way of telling the Council that jobbery would not be tolerated in the public printing any more than elsewhere. But before long the Council sent in another order for the publication of the act of the Legislature creating a board of sewer commissioners in all the daily papers in the city. This was a long act, and its publication in so many papers would have cost a very pretty sum of money. Moreover, there was no need of republishing it, after it had been put before the public through the newspapers several times already. Mayor Cleveland therefore returned the order, saying :

"The act has been published at length in the official paper on four several occasions, and, I think, has been published and frequently noticed in the other papers of the city.

"After much more publicity than is usually given to any law affecting our citizens, the act has become of force, and the rights and liabilities under it, whatever they may be, have become fixed, and there seems to be no greater necessity for publishing it as suggested than for the publication of other laws relating to the affairs of the city. The act when published will occupy a space about equal to a column of the large dailies. The expense of publishing is not limited by the resolution and will doubtless amount to a considerable sum.

"I do not feel satisfied that the interests of the public require the incurring of this expense, and I cannot, therefore, approve your resolution."

Then they tried to have the act authorizing the street-

cleaning contract published in the same way. Mayor Cleveland stopped it, saying :

“The act referred to in this resolution is an amendment to a single section of the city charter. It has been published with your proceedings in the city paper, and is easily accessible to any one requiring information as to its provisions. A similar resolution relating to the act establishing the sewer commission was adopted by your Honorable Body on the 19th ultimo, and disapproved by me on the 3d instant. I can find no reason why the city should be subjected to the expense of publication in one case more than in the other, or why both resolutions should not be regarded by me in the same manner.”

Then there was a last effort to make something out of the city in this line by directing the publication of all the tax sales for ten years back. There was no possible necessity for the proposed publication, and no authority for it. Mayor Cleveland forbade this misappropriation of the people's money, saying in his veto message :

“I return without my approval a resolution of your Honorable Body passed July 31st, 1882, directing a list of tax sales to the city, from the year 1870 to 1880, with the names of those to whom said taxes were assessed, to be published.

“I have examined this list as prepared by the comptroller. It comprises nearly eight thousand names and descriptions of land. More than one-half of the sales were had upwards of five years ago, and the taxes upon which they were based have ceased to be a lien upon the land against which they are assessed. The amount of all the sales is more than four hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

“The charter of our city provides ample means for the collection of unpaid taxes, both by proceedings under which the land may be forfeited and by a suit at law against the

delinquent taxpayer. The fact that this large amount of taxes still remains unpaid, and that the sales therefor to the city have been allowed to become inoperative, in default of further proceedings thereon, does not, it seems to me, evince extreme vigilance on the part of former city officers, who should have had the matter in charge.

"I do not find in the charter or ordinances, among all the means provided for the collection of taxes, any authority to make the publication ordered by your Honorable Body. And even if it were authorized, I am inclined to think the money spent for it would be an unprofitable investment. After we had done our worst, the delinquent would be a delinquent still. Whatever one might do to prevent the publication, I don't think, as a mere matter of duty, he would pay his tax after the publication was made.

"I can only guess that your Honorable Body was induced to pass the resolution under consideration, by a desire to see parties who have shirked the payment of taxes exposed to their fellow-citizens.

"This is a natural inclination, and I must confess I am not free from its influence. But I do not see that we are justified in using the people's money for such a purpose."

In the street department, which was that where jobbery had been most flourishing under the preceding administrations, there was frequently need of the restraining influence of the mayor's strong hand. Some of his more important communications in relation to this department have already been given. In cases of minor importance he was equally vigilant. He in numerous cases prevented, by his veto, costly improvements of streets on which the abutters objected, until a proper examination could be made, and as frequently pointed out needed improvements which had been neglected. As a sample his veto message of April 10th will serve :

"On the 3d day of April the street commissioner was ordered by your Honorable Body to 'cause the carriageway on Ferry street, from Main street extending one thousand feet easterly therefrom, to be graded and filled with hard material to its established grade, at an expense not to exceed \$200.'

"I deem it my duty to withhold my approval of this action of your Honorable Body.

"A personal inspection of the locality satisfies me that not a particle of work is necessary on this street between Main and Michigan streets. But east of Michigan for quite a long distance the street is in very bad condition and should be speedily repaired.

"The present plight of this street is consequent upon the building of what is called the Bird Avenue sewer; and after reading the contract for its construction I am led to believe that much of the present difficulty is the result of a failure on the part of the contractor to do his work as required

"It seems I am not alone in this opinion, for nearly \$250 of the contract price has been retained by the city to remedy such omissions.

"This money should, it seems to me, be appropriated first to the improvements of this street, and the contractor be called on to do the things required of him by his contract toward the same end, before the people are taxed for this purpose.

"In the present condition of affairs \$200 spent in putting cinders on this street would, in my opinion, hardly make a beginning of the necessary repairs."

In another of his vetoes he gave the Council some excellent advice on the subject, in these words:

"I notice that a great many of the resolutions passed for the construction of sidewalks contain no direction as to the kind of sidewalk, the material of which it should be made

or the width of the same. I think these things should all be stated, and that if this is not necessary to the validity of the taxes levied to pay for the construction, it certainly is necessary as furnishing a rule or requirement by which the performance of the work may be tested.

"My attention has lately been called to a case where a resolution ordering a sidewalk to be repaired or reconstructed was, as it is alleged, made the pretext for building an entirely new one where none had theretofore existed.

"This whole subject of the repairs and construction of side and crosswalks, demands, in my opinion, your immediate attention.

"But a few months have passed since it was demonstrated, upon an official investigation, that the worst kind of jobbery and swindling found opportunity in the present method of doing this work.

"I think applications for the construction and repair of plank side and crosswalks should be made to the street commissioner, and that he, after examination, if he deems the work necessary, should report the same to the Council, when it might be ordered, subject of course to the supervision and inspection of the street commissioner.

"If the different members of your Honorable Body who introduce resolutions for the doing of this kind of work first investigate and find that it is necessary, as of course should be done, it must involve a great deal of time and labor."

CHAPTER XVII.

Mayor Cleveland's Miscellaneous Messages.—A Plea for the Street Arabs.—Care of the Homeless Little Ones.—The Firemen's Benevolent Association and the Grand Army.—A Difficult Veto.—Principle Triumphs Over Sentiment.—The Watson Street Pump.—"Wholesome and Pure Water for the Poor Who Toil."

The tone of Mayor Cleveland's messages, as has been seen by the examples given in preceding chapters, was always most admirable. While earnest in his prosecution of reform, he showed himself in no sort a blusterer, nor did he seek controversy or force a conflict. His words were always calm and well chosen, and the manner of his messages calmly argumentative. It was only when brought face to face with unblushing corruption, as in the case of the street-cleaning contract, that he breathed forth fire against wrong-doers.

Many of his messages, on subjects other than those of which mention has been made, are worthy of preservation as State papers. Among them may be placed his message relative to the care of neglected children. On the fifth of June he sent in the following communication to the Common Council:

"My attention has been called by a committee from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children to the number of small boys and girls found upon our streets at late hours in the night.

"I have reason to believe that many of these children

are allowed, and some are obliged, by their parents, to thus remain in the streets for the ostensible purpose of earning money by selling newspapers or blacking boots. In truth, however, after a certain hour in the evening, the most, if not all the money they receive they obtain by begging or by false pretenses. In the mean time they are subjected to the worst influences leading directly to profligacy, vagrancy and crime.

"The importance of caring for children who are uncared for by their natural guardians, or who are unmindful of parental restraint, must be apparent to all. In the future, for good or for evil, their influence will be felt in the community; and certainly the attempt to prevent their swelling the criminal class is worth an effort.

"It seems to me that no pretext should be permitted to excuse allowing young girls to be upon the streets at improper hours, since its result must almost necessarily be their destruction.

"The disposition of the boy (child though he be) to aid in his own support or that of others, in an honest, decent way, ought not to be discouraged. But this does not call for his being in the street at late hours, to his infinite damage morally, mentally and physically, and to the danger of society.

"I respectfully suggest that this subject be referred to the committee on ordinances and the attorney, and that a committee from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children be invited to co-operate with them in an effort to frame an ordinance which will remedy the evil herein considered."

While this message displays the real kindness of heart which Mayor Cleveland possessed, the same quality is none the less distinctly shown in the message which he felt com-

pelled to write, forbidding the appropriation of money for the use of the Firemen's Benevolent Association, and for the use of the Grand Army of the Republic, in defraying the expenses of Decoration Day. It is easy to read in this veto the struggle between the generous impulses of his heart and the strong principle of right-doing which always guided him. In this case, as in all others, he put aside sentiment and acted strictly as his conscience dictated. The message, which is of unusual interest, is as follows :

"BUFFALO, May 8, 1882.

"At the last session of your Honorable Body a resolution was adopted directing the city clerk to draw a warrant for \$500.00 in favor of the secretary of the Fireman's Benevolent Association.

"This action is not only clearly unauthorized but it is distinctly prohibited by the following clause of the State Constitution :

" 'No county, city, town or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money or credit to, or in aid of any individual, association or corporation, or become directly or indirectly the owner of stock in or bonds of any association or corporation ; nor shall any such county, city, town or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness except for county, city, town or village purposes.'

"At the same meeting of your Honorable Body the following resolution was passed :

" 'That the city clerk be and he is hereby directed to draw a warrant on the Fourth of July fund for \$500.00 to the order of J. S. Edwards, chairman of the Decoration Day committee of the Grand Army of the Republic, for the purpose of defraying the expense attending a proper observation of Decoration Day.'

"I have taxed my ingenuity to discover a way to consist-

ently approve of this resolution, but have been unable to do so.

"It seems to me that it is not only obnoxious to the provisions of the constitution above quoted, but that it also violates that section of the charter of the city which makes it a misdemeanor to appropriate the money raised for one purpose to any other object. Under this section I think money raised 'for the celebration of the Fourth of July and the reception of distinguished persons' cannot be devoted to the observance of Decoration Day.

"I deem the object of this appropriation a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserve the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. And I should be much disappointed if an appeal to our citizens for voluntary subscriptions for this patriotic object should be in vain.

"But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and taxpayers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation. This is so, because the purpose for which this money is asked does not involve their protection or interest as members of the community, and it may or may not be approved by them.

"The people are forced to pay taxes into the city treasury only upon the theory that such money shall be expended for public purposes, or purposes in which they all have a direct and practical interest.

"The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that, if the people are forced to pay their money into the public fund and it is spent by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people as taxpayers have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relation to the taxpayers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles.

"This theory does not admit of our donating the public funds in the manner contemplated by the action of your Honorable Body.

"I deem it my duty therefore to return both of the resolutions herein referred to without my approval.

"GROVER CLEVELAND, Mayor."

The manly tone of this message carries with it a conviction of the honesty of the man who wrote it. And, if proof were needed of the sincerity of his motives, it would be found in the liberal contribution with which Mayor Cleveland headed the subscription for Memorial Day. What the people of Buffalo thought of this message is told in the remarks of the Express of that city, a Republican paper, which, on the following day, said editorially :

"A whole volume of solid sense and just principles of municipal government will be found condensed in a brief veto sent to the Council yesterday by Mayor Cleveland. It is refreshing to read the message. Appropriations of the public funds must not be made except in accordance with law. Safeguards provided by the constitution and the charter must be respected. The money raised by taxation must not be diverted from its legitimate objects. However worthy the sentiment recognized in any misappropriation, justice, not generosity, must prevail. When the Council wrongfully votes away the people's money, there is no credit in the act, because the money, having been extorted from the people, is not a free gift from that body. The city government is a business establishment, and must be conducted on business principles. All these golden rules are laid

down in disapproving a vote of \$500.00 for Decoration Day—a small sum for a worthy object; but, as the mayor shows, it is not the amount of the appropriation, nor the merit of it, but the principle involved, which must be considered. Private bounty ought to be equal to such a call; and then, to prove that he thinks so, Mr. Cleveland privately contributes one-tenth of the whole sum needed, thus supplementing excellent precept by liberal example.”

As a specimen of quite another style, Mayor Cleveland's veto of the Watson street pump-order has an interest peculiarly its own. The light sarcasm with which he treats the proposition of the Council to supply a certain locality with filthy water does not detract from the sound sense of his remarks, while it renders the paper more entertaining than usual. Following is the message:

“BUFFALO, Sept. 11, 1882.

“I return without my approval a resolution passed by your Honorable Body on the twenty-eighth day of August, directing the street commissioner to replace the pump removed from the well on the corner of William and Watson streets, the expense to be charged to the well district.

“On the fifth day of June, 1882, this well was declared a public nuisance by a resolution of your Honorable Body, and the street commissioner was ordered to fill the same.

“This action was taken at the instance of the board of health, by whom the well had been condemned as unfit for use.

“But neither your Honorable Body nor the board of health took action in the premises until after the water of this well had been analyzed by a competent person. In his reports submitted to the board of health, dated May 18, 1882, he gives the amount of salt found in the water of this well and others. His theory is that the presence of salt in well

water, in the quantity found in the water of many of the wells embraced in his report, indicates that it holds in solution the nastiest kind of filth. He does not hesitate to express the opinion that the water of this well, and that of twelve others specified in his report, is 'vile, and disgustingly contaminated with filth.' It further appears from his report that the particular well under consideration stands third in the list as to the extent of contamination.

"Under these circumstances the action of your Honorable Body in inviting the people to drink the water of this well, can, it seems to me, only be justified upon one of four grounds, viz :

"First—A good deal of nastiness and contamination in the water furnished our citizens to drink is not objectionable.

"No one, I think, has the hardihood to advance this theory. And if there is in the mind of any one the idea that it is not necessary to supply the poor and laboring people in the vicinity of this well with water as pure and healthful as that furnished to their richer and more pretentious fellow-citizens, I desire to say that I have no sympathy with such a notion. On the contrary, I believe that the poor who toil should of all others have access to what nature intended for their refreshment—wholesome and pure water.

"Second—A chemical analysis does not furnish the proof upon which we may safely act in determining the quality of the water in this well.

"I should be sorry to think that there is any disposition to belittle or distrust a science so well advanced as chemistry, and one upon which are constantly based as chemical determinations affecting the most important interests and rights, and which is so often appealed to in courts of justice when human life is at stake.

"Third—The analysis presented of the condition of the water in this well is not entitled to our entire confidence.

"The standing and ability of the expert who furnished the analysis, and his knowledge of the branch of science to which he has devoted himself, are certainly unimpeached, and I think unimpeachable. Besides, the result at which he has arrived with regard to some of the wells which he examined have been indorsed and confirmed by another competent chemist.

"Fourth—If any of the people living in the vicinity of this well insist upon drinking its impure water, they should be permitted to do so.

"This doctrine, if carried to its legitimate conclusion, would leave so little of sanitary supervision to be exercised by boards of health that they might well be abolished.

"My belief is that the citizen should be allowed great freedom in matters pertaining to himself as an individual. And yet this freedom should be no more than is consistent with the ends and purposes of a just and useful government; and there is no place in this enlightened age for the proposition that the authorities of a city may maintain an unwholesome public well, known to be such, even though the people are willing to take the risk to life and health in the use of the water.

"It is not unnatural that the closing of a well that has been so long in use should give rise to dissatisfaction and clamor; but when we are so clearly in the path of public duty as in the present case, it seems to me we should not yield. We can well afford to wait for the cooler second thought which will approve our course.

"I have seen a remonstrance signed by a number of citizens residing in the neighborhood of this well, protesting against its being restored to use. They accepted the situation when it was closed, and, at some expense, have provided themselves with Niagara water; and they claim they should not be taxed for this well which will be of no use to

them. I believe there is merit in this claim under all the circumstances. I think, too, the extension of our water-pipes and the use of Niagara water by all our people should be encouraged.

“GROVER CLEVELAND, Mayor.”

The last message which Mayor Cleveland sent in to the Council was that in which he asked that a warrant be drawn on the treasury to cover the incidental expenses of his office during the year. These expenses, including postage, amounted to just twenty-five dollars and twenty-four cents.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Cleveland as an Orator.—His Strength Found in Honest Common Sense Rather Than in Rhetoric.—Bright Points in His Messages.—Addresses on Various Occasions.—Buffalo's Semi-Centennial.—Citizenship and Its Duties.—The Young Men's Christian Association.—Good Government the Foundation of the Community's Wealth and Progress.—Address at the National Sængerfest.

Mayor Cleveland had proved himself in every respect a practical man. At no point had he gone astray from the ideas and principles announced in his inaugural message—that public office is a public trust, to be administered in a business-like way, honestly, carefully, without sentiment, and without extravagance. His messages were all clear, practical, plain, and directly to the point. He was no rhetorician, but a strong, earnest man of affairs. Such was the character of all his public utterances.

But he was never found lacking, when the occasion called for it, in the ability to represent the city of which he was the chief magistrate in a handsome manner, and some of his addresses on civic and other occasions are models of thoughtful oratory.

It was during his term of office as mayor of Buffalo that the city celebrated its semi-centennial. The occasion was made one of great interest by the proceedings, in which the municipal authorities and citizens generally joined. An address by the mayor was one of the features of the jubilee

day, and it is so short and characteristic of the man that it is presented herewith :

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I ought, perhaps, to be quite content on this occasion to assume the part of quiet gratification. But I cannot forbear expressing my satisfaction at being allowed to participate in the exercises of the evening, and I feel that I must give token of the pleasure I experience in gazing with you upon the fair face of our queen city at the age of fifty. I am proud with you in contrasting what seems to us the small things of fifty years ago, with the beauty, and the greatness, and the importance of to-day. The achievements of the past are gained ; the prosperity of the present we hold with a firm hand ; and the promise of the future comes to us with no uncertain sound. It seems to me to-day that of all men the resident of Buffalo should be the proudest to name his home.

“In the history of a city, fifty years but marks the period of youth, when all is fresh and joyous. The face is fair, the step is light, and the burden of life is carried with a song ; the future, stretching far ahead, is full of bright anticipations, and the past, with whatever of struggle and disappointment there may have been, seems short, and is half forgotten. In this heyday of our city's life, we do well to exchange our congratulations, and to revel together, in the assurances of the happy and prosperous future that awaits us.

“And yet I do not deem it wrong to remind myself and you, that our city, great in its youth, did not suddenly spring into existence, clad in beauty and in strength. There were men fifty years ago, who laid its foundations broad and deep ; and who, with the care of jealous parents, tended it and watched its growth. Those early times were not without their trials and discouragements ; and we reap to-

day the fruit of the labors and the perseverance of those pioneers. Those were the fathers of the city. Where are they? Fifty years added to manhood fills the cup of human life. Most have gone to swell the census of God's city, which lies beyond the stream of faith. A few there are who listlessly linger upon the bank, and wait to cross, in the shade of trees they have planted with their own hands. Let us tenderly remember the dead to-night; and let us renew our love and veneration for those who are spared to speak to us of the scenes attending our city's birth and infancy.

“And in this, our day of pride and self-gratification, there is, I think, one lesson at least which we may learn from the men who have come down to us from a former generation.

“In the day of the infancy of the city which they founded, and for many years afterwards, the people loved their city so well that they would only trust the management of its affairs in the strongest and best of hands; and no man in those days was so engrossed in his own business but he could find some time to devote to public concerns. Read the names of the men who held places in this municipality fifty years ago, and food for reflection will be found. Is it true that the city of to-day, with its large population, and with its vast and varied interests, needs less and different care than it did fifty years ago?

“We boast of our citizenship to-night. But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God. There is no better time than this for self-examination. He who deems himself too pure and holy to take part in the affairs of his city, will meet the fact that better men than he have thought it their duty to do so. He who cannot spare a moment in his greed and selfishness to devote to public concerns, will perhaps find a well-grounded fear that he may become the prey of public plun-

derers ; and he who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city, will find that he is living falsely, and in the neglect of his highest duty.

“When our centennial shall be celebrated, what will be said of us? I hope it may be said that we built and wrought well, and added much to the substantial prosperity of the city we had in charge. Brick and mortar may make a large city ; but the encouragement of those things which elevate and purify ; the exaction of the highest standard of integrity in official place, and a constant, active interest on the part of the good people in municipal government, are needed to make a great city.

“Let it be said of us when only our names and memory are left in the centennial time, that we faithfully administered the trust which we received from our fathers, and religiously performed our parts in our day and generation, toward making our city not only prosperous, but truly great.”

In the same year, the Young Men's Chistian Association of Buffalo laid the corner stone of its new building in that city. Mayor Cleveland was one of the speakers on that occasion, and this address took the practical tone of all his utterances. In it he said :

“We this day bring into a prominent place an institution which, it seems to me, cannot fail to impress itself upon our future with the best results. Perhaps a majority of the citizens have heard of the Young Men's Christian Association, and perchance the name has suggested, in an indefinite way, certain efforts to good and to aid generally in the spread of religious teaching. I venture to say, however, that a comparatively small part of our community have really known the full extent of the work of this association, and may have thought of it as an institution well enough in its way

—a proper enough outlet for a superabundance of religious enthusiasm—doing, of course, no harm and perhaps very little good. Some have aided it by their contributions from a sense of Christian duty, but more have passed by on the other side. We have been too much in the habit of regarding institutions of this kind as entirely disconnected from any consideration of municipal growth of prosperity, and have too often considered splendid structures, active trade, increasing commerce, and growing manufactures as the only things worthy of our care as public-spirited citizens. A moment's reflection reminds us that this is wrong. The citizen is a better business man if he is a Christian gentleman, and surely business is not the less prosperous and successful if conducted on Christian principles.

“This is an extremely practical, and perhaps not a very elevated view to take of the purposes and benefits of the Young Men's Christian Association, but I assert that if it did no more than to impress some religious principles upon the business of our city it would be worthy of generous support. And when we consider the difference, as a member of the community, between the young man who, under the influence of such an association, has learned his duty to his fellows and to the State, and that one, who, subject to no moral restraint, yields to temptation, and thus becomes vicious and criminal, the importance of an institution in our midst which leads our youth and young men in the way of morality and good citizenship must be freely admitted.

“I have thus only referred to this association as in some manner connected with our substantial prosperity. There is a higher theme connected with this subject which touches the welfare, temporal and spiritual, of the objects of its care. Upon this I will not dwell. I cannot, however, pass on without invoking the fullest measure of honor and

consideration due to the self-sacrificing and disinterested efforts of the men, and women too, who have labored amid trials and discouragements to firmly plant this association in our midst upon a sure foundation. We all hope and expect that our city has entered upon a course of unprecedented prosperity and growth. But to my mind not all the signs about us point more surely to real greatness than the event which we here celebrate. Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every community. As the chief executive of this proud city, I congratulate all my fellow-citizens that to-day we lay the foundation stone of an edifice which shall be a beautiful ornament, and, what is more important, shall inclose within its walls such earnest Christian endeavors as must make easier all our efforts to administer safely and honestly a good municipal government."

Another occasion on which Mayor Cleveland was called upon to speak on other than official matters, was the opening of the twenty-third National Sængerfest. The ceremonies took place in the Music Hall, which was crowded to its utmost capacity with members of the German singing societies from all over the country, gathered for their annual festival. Mr. Cleveland said:

"I have come to join my fellow-townsmen and their visitors in the exercises which inaugurate a festival of music and of song, and a season of social enjoyment.

"It may be safely said, I think, that no one who has called this his home and who has enjoyed a residence in this beautiful city, and has learned the kindness of its people, ever forgets these things, or fails to experience satisfaction in whatever adds to the prestige of the city and the pride and enjoyment of its inhabitants. And thus it is that I am here to-night at my home, claiming as an old citizen of Buffalo

my full share of the pleasures which Buffalonians appropriate to themselves on this occasion.

"I am glad that our State has within its borders a city containing German enterprise enough, and enough of German love of music to secure to itself the honor and distinction of being selected as the place where this national festival is held. I desire to feel free to-night from official responsibility and restraint, and as a private citizen to join in welcoming our guests to my home ; but I will not forbear as the executive of the great State of New York, and on behalf of the people, to extend to those here assembled from other states a hearty greeting. At this moment the reflection is uppermost in my mind that we owe much to the German element among our people. Their thrift and industry have added much to our growth and prosperity. The sad and solemn victims of American overwork may learn of them that labor may be well done, and at the same time recreation and social enjoyment have their places in a busy life. They have also brought to us their music and their song, which have done much to elevate, refine and improve, and to demonstrate that nature's language is as sweet as when the morning stars sang together.

"I am inclined to think that a music-loving people are not apt to be a bad people, and it may well be hoped that occasions like this will tend to make the love and attraction of music more universal in our land. We hear sometimes of the assimilation of the people of different nationalities who have made their homes upon American soil. As this process goes on, let the German love of music be carefully included, to the end that the best elements of human nature may be improved and cultivated and American life be made more joyous and happy.

"I must not detain you longer ; better things await you. To the stranger guest I pledge a cordial hospitality at the

hands of the Germans of Buffalo. I know the warmth of heart and the kindliness of disposition of those having you in charge, and no other guarantee is needed.

"To my fellow-townsmen who have labored thus far so faithfully in preparation for this occasion, I cannot forbear saying your most delicate and difficult work will not be done until your guests depart declaring the twenty-third the most successful and enjoyable Sængerfest upon the list, and confessing that the most cordial and hospitable entertainers are the Germans in Buffalo."

In his short official career, Mayor Cleveland had comparatively little opportunity for speechmaking. He was emphatically a man of action, and all his words were acts. But at this, the outset of his public life, he had made it manifest not only to his fellow-citizens of Buffalo, but to a much wider public, that his words carried weight because they had behind them the honest purpose of a strong man acting under the dictates of a clear conscience.

CHAPTER XIX.

What Mayor Cleveland Did for Buffalo. — A Wonderful Genius for Administration. — His Sterling Honesty. — Force of Character. — Defeat of the Ring. — A Review of His Administration. — Republican Estimate of His Services. — A Reform Revolution.

The official papers of Mayor Cleveland have been given at considerable length, because in them is told the story of his administration. But even these do not tell it in full, because they fail to represent the terribly demoralized condition of things in the city government when he took charge under pledge to inaugurate and carry out reform. Something of this is indicated in the message which he sent to the Council at the first of the year, but the whole cannot be understood except by those who were familiar with the local affairs of Buffalo during the few years preceding his election. Without going into details, it is enough to say that the citizens had utterly lost confidence in their municipal government; that the rate of taxation was increasing at an alarming speed, and that a moral panic had fallen upon the community.

In this situation, Grover Cleveland was taken from the seclusion of private life, and, against his wishes, forced to undertake the great and difficult work of changing all this evil into good. He had never yet had an opportunity of showing whether he possessed that rare genius for administration which was needed in such a case as this. He had

never held an executive position of any such responsibility. He was not chosen because of his experience in the management of municipal affairs. But he was known to be honest. That was the first and highest qualification. His integrity was conspicuous, and the people demanded an upright man at the head of the government. He was true as steel to his convictions, and the people wanted a brave and sincere man. He was above reproach, and beyond the reach of contaminating influences, and the city needed a man who could not be driven by threats or seduced by unworthy inducements.

Thus they chose Grover Cleveland; and, as mayor of the city of Buffalo, he proved not only the honest, courageous man that he was known to be, but a man with a genius for administration that not one in a million possesses. The development of this power was wonderful. He showed himself fully equal to every situation in which he was placed, and even the herculean work for which he was chosen proved none too severe for his powers.

What was the work that he did for the city of Buffalo? His official papers indicate it in some degree. He made the reform which the people asked an actual fact. He found the administration of affairs careless, extravagant, and corrupt. He applied himself to the correction of these faults, and at once introduced improved methods whereby the business of the city was conducted in a business-like manner. He watched with vigilance against the constant attempts that were made to rob the treasury, and succeeded in eradicating jobbery from the city government. He saved the city nearly a million of dollars by his action in the matter of the sewer commission and the street-cleaning contract, and he had defeated and put to rout, after a long contest, the most determined and corrupt ring that the city had ever known. This he had done as a Democrat; and

in doing it he had compelled the admiration of all honest Republicans.

Perhaps no better summary of Grover Cleveland's work as mayor can be found than that given by the leading Republican daily newspaper of Buffalo. This paper, the *Express*, said, in September, 1882 :

"At this time last year Grover Cleveland had hardly been thought of as a candidate for mayor of Buffalo. It was with the utmost difficulty that he could be persuaded to accept that nomination. He didn't want the office. Only at a great sacrifice of professional income and personal comfort could he discharge its duties. But, after much importunity, with genuine reluctance, he at length yielded his own preference and allowed his friends to nominate him. He was elected by a majority of 3,580—the largest majority ever given to any candidate for that office—though running on the Democratic ticket, and in a city which at the same time gave a majority of 1,624 for the Republican State ticket. And his administration of the office has fully justified the partiality of the friends who insisted on nominating him, and vindicated the good judgment of the people who so powerfully insisted on electing him. It is not too much to say that in his first half of his first year he has almost revolutionized our municipal government. With no more power than his predecessors had, he has inaugurated reforms heretofore only hoped for, and corrected abuses which had become almost venerable. Accounts against the city are now thoroughly audited, since he pointed out what is required of an officer whose duty it is to audit. The wholesome rule of competition has been adopted for important work hitherto given out in the form of political patronage. So far as one man can, he sees to it that the city gets the full value of its money. He knows his power, and is not afraid to use it. He has conquered the most cor-

rupt combination ever formed in the Council, and rebuked the conspirators in terms that brought the blush of shame to the cheekiest of aldermen. His veto messages have become municipal classics. Knowing his duty, he has faithfully performed it, with what benefit to the public can hardly be estimated. And with what personal gain? Nothing but honor—but that to a surprising degree.”

More in detail is the review of Mayor Cleveland’s administration given by the *Chicago Times*, which, although reproducing points which have been mentioned more at length in the preceding pages, is given herewith:

“In his first address as mayor, Mr. Cleveland said:

“‘It seems to me that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust to be expended for their benefit; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of their expenditure, and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.’

“This has been said often by other officers than Mayor Cleveland. It is a platitude, unless it becomes a guide of action. The position is correct and creditable. The trouble is that few officers chosen at the polls have the courage to act consistently with it. Mayor Cleveland has not swerved at all from this position, though sometimes subjected to sore temptation. One of the earliest acts was to inform the City Council that he could discover no reason why the city offices should be closed and the employés released from their duties at an early hour of the day.

“‘I am sure no man would think an active private busi-

ness was well attended to if he and all his employés ceased work at four o'clock in the afternoon. The salaries paid by the city to its officers and employés entitle it to a fair day's work. Besides, these offices are for the transaction of public business, and the convenience of all our citizens should be consulted in respect to the time during which they should remain open.'

"This was a mere straw, showing, however, the direction of the chief magistrate's mind, and it had a wholesome effect, it may be taken for granted, upon the official atmosphere of the City Hall. His first opposition to a well-planned scheme of the Council was to veto an ordinance providing for the opening of certain streets merely that they might become highways for railroads.

"He pointed out that if the companies desired to have such rights of way, theirs should be the cost of securing them. In their desire to be thought good fellows, the Council had appropriated \$500 for a firemen's benevolent association and another \$500 to defray expenses of Decoration Day. The mayor pointed out the unconstitutionality of the proceeding, as well as its violation of the city charter, which makes it a misdemeanor to appropriate money raised for one purpose to any other purpose. In vetoing the resolutions transferring funds in order to make this donation, Mayor Cleveland said sturdily and sensibly :

" 'The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades, certainly deserve the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We shall all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and taxpayers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation. This is so because the purpose for which this money is asked does not involve their protection or interests as members of

the community ; and it may or may not be approved by them. The people are forced to pay taxes into the city treasury only upon the theory that such money shall be expended for public purposes or purposes in which they all have direct and practical interest. The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that if the people are forced to pay their money into the public fund, and it is spent by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people, as taxpayers, have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust.'

'These were minor matters, good in themselves, and important as indicating the ground for confidence in the mayor, who meant what he said, and would not forget what he said that the municipal corporation should be conducted upon correct business principles.

'There came a time when the mayor's courage was to be more severely tested. Reading the message this occasion called out, the situation is clarified. It was not so when the veto came. The Council had succeeded largely in creating popular approval of its course—at least it had the support of party organs against the Democratic mayor.

'A contract was attempted to be made for street-cleaning for the period of five years, for the amount of \$422,450. The resolution directing that this contract be made was successfully vetoed by Mayor Cleveland, who said, with force, directness, and a grim dash of humor :

'The bid thus accepted is more than \$100,000 higher than that of another perfectly responsible party for the same work ; and a worse and more suspicious feature in this transaction is, that the bid now accepted is \$50,000 more than that made by the bidder himself within a few weeks, openly and publicly to your Honorable Body, for performing precisely the same service. This latter circumstance is, to my mind, the manifestation on the part of the contractor of a

reliance upon the forbearance and generosity of your Honorable Body which would be more creditable if it were less expensive to the taxpayers. I am not aware that any excuse is offered for the acceptance of this proposal, thus increased, except the very flimsy one that the lower bidders could not afford to do the work for the sums they named. This extreme tenderness and care for those who desire to contract with the city, and this touching and paternal solicitude lest they should be improvidently led into a bad bargain, is, I am sure, an exception to general business rules, and seems to have no place in this selfish and sordid world except as found in the administration of municipal affairs.'

'The truth in this grimly satirical prodding of a common excuse for corrupt extravagance will be recognized in other latitudes than Buffalo. The issue had been clouded by representations of the upright character of some of the aldermen who voted for letting the contract. Mayor Cleveland was not misled. He continued:

"This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action now under consideration shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people, and to worse than squander the public money. I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given to this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a willful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences both in and about your Honorable Body which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care. When cool judgment rules the hour the public will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your Honorable Body; but clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap

cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence. We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people, either in or out of your Honorable Body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly.'

"A trifle verbose, perhaps, but an honest and public-spirited purpose shining through it all. The whole tenure of Mayor Cleveland's administration has been consistent with these chapters from its record. It is one which inspires confidence among lovers of aggressively honest administration, and will strengthen protesting Republicans in their purpose to remain steadfast."

Thus, before Mayor Cleveland had much more than half completed his term, he had made for himself a name that was recognized throughout his State, and, indeed, throughout the country, for remarkable administrative ability and sterling honesty.

CHAPTER XX.

The State Campaign.—Reform the Issue of the Day.—Grover Cleveland Nominated by the Democrats for Governor.—The Republican Blunder.—The Party Breaks up on Folger's Nomination.—Loud Denunciations of the Act.—Cleveland's Letter of Acceptance.—A Proclamation of Reform.

The term of Governor Cornell was to expire with the year 1882, and the State election began to cast its shadow before, during the administration of Mayor Cleveland. Reform was the issue of the day, not only in New York, but all over the country; and it was not strange that, with this sentiment abroad in the land, the eyes of the people should be directed toward the reform executive of the great city of Buffalo, and that the Democratic party should name him for Governor. A man of his legal and intellectual attainments, who had been taken from the practice of his profession, and placed at the head of the administration of a large city, and who had not only proved himself able to conduct its business, but to institute great and thorough reforms, was the man for the hour. As a writer on the events of these days puts it:

"It is strictly true that Mayor Cleveland was swept into office on one of those tidal waves of popular protest against ring rule, that are as resistless as they are sudden. But it was, after all, a local contest, and one has yet to account for the national importance which the Buffalo election assumed, and the wide-spread interest that was felt in the new champion. There is only one way in which to explain

this. Mr. Cleveland had not yet attracted attention outside of his metropolitan field. But there was one issue that in a sense was the issue of the hour everywhere, and that was whether it was any longer possible to secure, by a popular election, that kind of integrity and sagacity that would administer the people's affairs with the honesty and discretion that were necessary to good government. The Buffalo canvass for the mayoralty defined that issue in the sharpest manner. The nomination of Grover Cleveland was avowedly and defiantly the gauge of battle thrown down by reform. There were only two points to be determined—did the people want reform? that is did they wish their business conducted honestly, and would the man they had selected for the experiment so conduct it? So vitally important were these two questions that vaster and intenser themes were, for the moment, forgotten by the country, and it turned aside momentarily to watch this contest in Buffalo. The people answered one question, and Grover Cleveland answered the other. The reply in one case was with votes, in the other with acts."

There was an opportunity for the Republican party to meet the demands of popular sentiment at this time, and array itself on the side of reform and honest administration, by choosing some representative of these ideas from its own ranks. But the party was in its decadence in the State and the country. As in Buffalo, it was under bonds to rings and jobbers, and it could not free itself. Reform was impossible to it; honesty was not wanted. So, while the people were clamoring for a change in the character and the methods of government, the Republican Convention of the State of New York met at Saratoga, and offered them only a change for the worse. Had Cornell been renominated, it is quite possible that Grover Cleveland would have been allowed to

finish out his term as mayor of Buffalo, without a call to higher office. But the nomination of Judge Folger, in obedience to the dictates of the Federal Administration and the old ring, made the choice of the Buffalo statesman certain, by the loudest popular call that was ever given.

Regarding the nomination made by the Republican Convention, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said, in Plymouth Church :

"It was achieved by bribery and forgery, and the convention, which assumed to represent the Republicans of the State, and which deliberately lied, in my mind, and in the mind of every honest Republican, when it made its nominations, should be rebuked in a manner it cannot fail to understand."

A Republican newspaper of New York City, commenting upon the action of this convention, said :

"Secretary Folger was foisted on the Republican party of New York by the Federal Administration. He is not the first nor the real choice of the Republicans of New York for governor. It is a matter of history, proclaimed by Republican journals, that his nomination at Saratoga was compassed by treachery and bribery, if not by more flagrant acts. Intelligent and high-minded Republicans all over the State, as they learn the interior history of that convention, condemn its proceedings and repudiate its ticket. The fraud and chicanery and bargaining there are so well known and generally admitted by well-informed Republicans that it has become a serious question with the friends of Secretary Folger whether, as an honorable man, he can bring himself to accept such a tainted nomination.

"But the point of most importance in this history is the fact that the bargaining and bribery and frauds were perpetrated in the interest, if not under the express direction of the

Federal Administration to secure Secretary Folger's nomination. The history of his canvass is full of significance. His name was first telegraphed to New York from Washington as the administration candidate. It was caught up and kept before the people by the administration organs. His candidature was urged by the president's most intimate friends. Though, Mr. Arthur said nothing for the public to hear, the zealous activity of the men in his confidence, in making Folger combinations, and in securing Folger delegates, left no shadow of doubt in any mind as to the president's desire and purpose. The fact that President Arthur regarded Governor Cornell as his enemy, and was opposed to his re-election, practically sealed his fate; for thousands of Mr. Cornell's friends were afraid to urge his nomination lest he should be defeated by administration influence.

"There were plenty of other able and distinguished Republicans equally strong if not stronger than Secretary Folger; they were all passed by, and this man, who was taken from the Court of Appeals for a cabinet office, which he has held less than a year, was actually forced on the Republicans of New York, in spite of their preferences, as the president's candidate for governor. The wishes of four hundred and fifty thousand Republicans were overridden by the will of Chester A. Arthur, accidentally president by the grace of Guiteau's bullet."

Against a candidate so burdened with the shame of his party, Grover Cleveland was a host. His very name signified honest politics and real reform. He was a clean man, and clean men everywhere welcomed his entrance into public life.

The nomination of Mr. Cleveland by the Democratic Convention at Syracuse was, like every other advancement he received, without solicitation or effort on his part. Strange

as this statement may seem, it is strictly true. He neither lifted his hand nor spoke a word to secure the honor which came to him. He simply accepted what the people proffered. As the Buffalo Express put it :

“The universal chorus of praise from his fellow-citizens has sounded all over the state, and suddenly the name of Grover Cleveland is heard everywhere as that of the coming Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, because he is the most independent man that ever served as mayor of Buffalo. And not one jot or tittle of this extraordinary popularity is due to self-seeking. Probably no one was more surprised than Mr. Cleveland when what is known as the ‘boom’ in his favor first struck him. He could hardly believe it serious, but ere this he must have learned that his friends are terribly in earnest. Politicians of great distinction—‘war horses’ of high renown—with whom to secure the Democratic nomination has been a consuming ambition for years, and who have sought it both openly and in secret, find themselves heavily handicapped by that very fact, and the prize apparently going to the favorite without a struggle on his part.”

The party convention nominated him with hearty unanimity, on the simple platform of honesty and reform ; and in his letter of acceptance, which is given below, he accepted in the same spirit :

“BUFFALO, Oct. 7, 1882.

“*Hon. Thomas C. E. Ecclesine, Chairman, etc.*

“DEAR SIR : I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, informing me of my nomination for Governor by the Democratic State Convention lately held at the city of Syracuse.

“I accept the nomination thus tendered to me, and trust that, while I am gratefully sensible of the honor conferred,

I am also properly impressed with the responsibilities which it invites.

"The platform of principles adopted by the convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessary. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration and make them the policy of the State.

"Our citizens for the most part attach themselves to one or the other of the great political parties; and under ordinary circumstances they support the nominees of the party to which they profess fealty. It is quite apparent that under such circumstances the primary election or caucus should be surrounded by such safeguards as will secure absolutely free and uncontrolled action. Here the people themselves are supposed to speak; here they put their own hands to the machinery of government; and in this place should be found the manifestations of the popular will. When by fraud, intimidation, or any other questionable practice, the voice of the people is here smothered, a direct blow is aimed at a most precious right, and one which the law should be swift to protect. If the primary election is uncontaminated and fairly conducted those there chosen to represent the people will go forth with the impress of the people's will upon them, and the benefits and purposes of a truly representative government will be attained.

"Public officers are the servants and agents of the people to execute laws which the people have made and within the limits of a constitution which they have established. Hence the interference of officials of any degree, and whether state or federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular wish should not be tolerated.

"Subordinates in public places should be selected and re-

tained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand, here as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold those public places would be much diminished, and it seems to me, the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

"The system of levying assessments for partisan purposes on those holding office or place, cannot be too strongly condemned. Through the thin disguise of voluntary contributions, this is seen to be naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned and swelling a fund used to debase the people and defeat the popular will.

"I am unalterably opposed to the interference by the legislature with the government of municipalities. I believe in the intelligence of the people when left to an honest freedom in their choice, and that when the citizens of any section of the State have determined upon the details of a local government, they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same. The doctrine of home rule, as I understand it, lies at the foundation of republican institutions, and cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

"Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere, they should be protected; but when by combination or by the exercise of unwarranted power they oppress the people, the same authority which created, should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizens. The law lately passed

for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects and with a due regard for the interests involved.

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman.

"We have so lately had a demonstration of the value of our citizen soldiery in time of peril, that it seems to me no argument is necessary to prove that it should be maintained in a state of efficiency, so that its usefulness shall not be impaired.

"Certain amendments to the constitution of our State, involving the management of our canals, are to be passed upon at the coming election. This subject affects diverse interests and of course gives rise to opposite opinions. It is in the hands of the sovereign people for final settlement; and as the question is thus removed from State legislation, any statement of my opinion in regard to it, at this time, would, I think, be out of place. I am confident that the people will intelligently examine the merits of the subject and determine where the preponderance of interest lies.

"The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls, or to secure legislation, is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed a representative form of government becomes a sham; and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed, and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us; and the party which

leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods. It is will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

"The importance of wise statesmanship in the management of public affairs can not, I think, be over estimated. I am convinced, however, that the perplexities and the mystery often surrounding the administration of State concerns grow in a great measure out of an attempt to serve partisan ends rather than the welfare of the citizen.

"We may, I think, reduce to quite simple elements the duty which public servants owe, by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise and to expend for their benefit the money drawn from them by taxation.

"I am profoundly conscious that the management of the diverse interests of a great State is not an easy matter, but I believe, if undertaken in the proper spirit, all its real difficulties will yield to watchfulness and care.

"Yours respectfully,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Thus boldly and clearly did the Democratic candidate proclaim reform. His letter of acceptance was in self a platform of high principles. A government honestly conducted upon the basis of the ideas which this letter set forth would be as nearly perfect as is permitted to things, human. And this idea had more than the ordinary force, comi

from Grover Cleveland ; for they were the ideas on which he had based his action as the executive of a great city, and he had conscientiously lived up to every principle which he proclaimed. No one could point to a single sentiment in this noble letter and say that in practice it was denied by its author. For every plank in the platform which he thus drew up, he had the record of official action as an indorsement. Instead of promises, it was a summary of acts performed.

CHAPTER XXI.

A Strong Popular Nomination.—Grover Cleveland as a Candidate.—The Voice of the Independent Republican Press.—“The Right Man for the Right Place.”—Speech of D. A. Ogden.—“He has Never Failed.”—Rev. Dr. Cuyler’s Opinion.—“An Exceptionally Able and Upright Man.”—Rev. Dr. Frazer’s Indorsement.—“Just as Square a Man as You Can Meet.”—Comments upon His Letter of Acceptance.

The nomination of Grover Cleveland by the Democrats to be Governor of the State of New York, was clearly in obedience to the popular demand. The people wanted a strong, honest man for that office, and Cleveland had proved himself all that they asked, and much more. The Republican party disregarded the people’s wish, and had continued its old methods in the old way with not even a promise of reform. As a result, the better portion of the Republican party, the Republicans who had thoughts and purposes above and beyond the mere division of the spoils of office, were compelled to indorse the Democratic nomination and approve the Democratic candidate whose character and principles they knew and admired.

On every hand, Republicans of character and influence hastened to approve Grover Cleveland’s nomination. One of their chief organs, which had supported Cleveland for mayor of Buffalo, said :

“Mayor Cleveland’s fellow-citizens were wise enough to elect him, and by such a potent majority that it became a serious factor in the Democratic problem of how to carry

the State. In 1874 Tilden's majority in the State reached 51,817, but in Buffalo it was only 356. In 1876 Robinson was elected governor by a majority of 30,460, but Buffalo contributed only 472 towards that grand total. Three years later, though Cornell was elected by a plurality of 42,777 over Robinson, the total Democratic vote—for Robinson and for Kelly—showed a majority of 59,512 over Cornell, and yet Buffalo gave a plurality for Cornell of 3,055 over Robinson and a majority of 2,717 over both Robinson and Kelly. On Lieutenant-Governor the majority for Hoskins was but 290, his opponent, Potter, having the united Democratic vote. That small numbers show how closely the two parties can run together in the most populous State in the Union. The Democrats carried the State in 1873, '74, '75, '76 and '77. In 1881 the Republican majority for Secretary of State was only 13,022, an average of less than seven votes for each of the 1,999 election districts in the State.

“Now, when these results are considered in conjunction with the majority of 3,530 given by this city last year for Mr. Cleveland, it becomes apparent that the mayor of Buffalo has one large element of strength which could not be counted for any other Democratic candidate. His other capital qualifications are more generally understood. But the fact that he—without effort and almost against his will—secured a majority of 3,530 in a city, which at the same time gave the Republican State ticket a majority of 1,624, and which gave a plurality of 3,055 for Cornell two years before is one of those solid arguments which are easily grasped and which outweighs bushels of speculation.

“With all their significance, however, these figures did not present the strongest argument in behalf of Mayor Cleveland's nomination for Governor. That was found in the splendid record he has made in office. It might be te-

dious to recount his many notable acts, chiefly in the form of fearless vetoes of improvident, careless and corrupt local legislation. The fame of these model reform messages spread abroad. It soon became known that here, at last, was found the right man in the right place.

"Will he be elected? It would be mere foolishness on our part to pretend to feel the slightest doubt about it; and since the fraudulent nomination of the administration candidate for the Republicans it would be rank hypocrisy to pretend that we do not earnestly wish it. We think he will get the largest majority ever given to any man for Governor of New York, and if he does not receive in Erie county the largest vote ever given to any candidate for a State office in the same district we shall miss our mark by a long shot."

The Democratic press was, of course, unanimous in support of a candidate who so clearly and consistently represented the reform purposes of the party. Cleveland's nomination was received everywhere with the warmest indorsement, and created the sincerest enthusiasm.

In a speech before the Yates County Convention, Hon. D. A. Ogden said:

"The ticket was made as the matured and honest judgment of the convention, and emanated from the representatives of the people, acting in view of their responsibility in the exercise of the power conferred upon them by the people, to make the best and strongest nominations that could be made. Differences of opinion existed; preferences for candidates were freely and earnestly expressed, but the rivalry was not factious, but betokened a proper and healthy sentiment and feeling, and the result when reached was heartily acquiesced in as the wisest and best because of the matured judgment of the majority. There is still a wider and broader view. The occasion seemed to demand just

the nominations that were made. The Democracy, heretofore divided into factions and halls and personal followings, had come together and joined hands into solid unity, and if not a necessity it seemed the right and proper thing to do to take for standard bearers and candidates new men, younger men, men not identified with the past divisions of the party, men of high and irreproachable character, of conceded ability, of commanded fitness and tried integrity, men identified with the party, thoroughly imbued with its spirit and its principles, but not mixed up with the troubles of the past, but fully furnished with all the requisites to guide the future and build upon the old and sure foundation of the grand old party, which had served the country so grandly in the past, and which is after all the only hope for the future. It was truly a new departure, it was the consolidation of the broken Democratic forces into a compact, earnest party, and the feeling was, and so it was the part of wisdom and safety alike, to place at the head of the united column, young, vigorous, brave and determined leaders, and thus make the force invincible. In such a spirit and with such a purpose, the Hon. Grover Cleveland of Buffalo, was selected for the post of honor; in his strong and trusty hand was placed the standard, and he was bid go forward to victory in the name and backed by the power of united Democracy, to secure for the Empire State good, honest government, and to the whole people the full enjoyment of their rights.

“‘Who,’ ask the Republicans, ‘is Grover Cleveland?’ We reply: Grover Cleveland is a true man, measuring up fully to the Jeffersonian standard—‘he is honest,’ ‘he is capable,’ ‘he is faithful to the constitution,’ he is of and from the people. Born as the great majority of our distinguished and great men have been, in lowly life, reared in a Christian home, with frugal habits and correct moral principles, with-

out fortune, early cast upon his own resources, he commenced the battle of life, and by his ability, industry and integrity he has worked his way up, until he stands to-day one of the foremost citizens in western New York. Modest, unassuming, but firm, decided and inflexible in the discharge of duty and the support of the right; everywhere, at all times and in every place, office and position, successful.

"Such is Grover Cleveland, the nominee of the Democratic party for Governor. He belongs to the class of men who never fail, who always succeed; they reach success because they deserve it and know how to command it. Of such men great men are made. They have the base of character, they have the command of ability, they have force and vigor, and they move on and up and become strong, and men rally around them and they become great, distinguished, and are forced to the front because fit and able to lead and command. If our Republican friends do not know Grover Cleveland now they will know him hereafter, and all the people will learn to admire him as they better know him. I submit whether the convention at this juncture of affairs did not decide well and wisely in taking this new, clean, honest, able man as their candidate. Holding in the past many places of trust and responsibility, he has never failed, nor will he fail in the high place to which he is now to be called."

As has been said, the better sort of Republicans welcomed the nomination of Grover Cleveland for Governor in the interest of good and honest government, and as a relief from the tyranny of the ring in their own party. This feeling was very marked among the clergymen and others who had supported the Republican party on conscientious grounds, and who had the strength of their convictions to break away from their party when they could no longer conscientiously

go with it. In Grover Cleveland they saw a thoroughly honest man whom they could heartily support.

Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, D.D., pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian church in Brooklyn, had been for many years one of the most ardent Republicans in the state of New York. He now became a leader in the revolt against his party and a warm supporter of the reform candidate. Dr. Cuyler said, in an interview after the nomination was made :

"The outcome of it will be that the mayor of Buffalo will be elected governor by 40,000 or 50,000 majority. Grover Cleveland will sweep the state. This will be accomplished by an uprising of the people and through the feeling aroused by the shameful methods followed at the state convention in Saratoga. The best people are looking upon this subject not as partisans, but as good citizens. Do I think they will come into line? Most emphatically I do not. The wound inflicted will not heal. On the contrary they will become more aggravated as time goes on. As Mr. Cleveland is an exceptionably able and upright man there is nothing preventing his sweeping the State in the present condition of popular feeling. I say that as a Republican, and as one who has always been a thorough Republican. Again, the people are called upon to combat a dangerous principle—that of executive interference in the politics of a state. That really deserves to be brought in as an important question affecting American politics in the future. I am utterly amazed that the administration does not see the danger into which it is running by challenging popular attention and antagonism on this point."

Another clergyman of prominence was Rev. David Frazer, D.D., pastor of the Classon Avenue Presbyterian church, Brooklyn. Before coming to Brooklyn he, for eight years, filled the pulpit of the First Presbyterian church

of Buffalo. During his residence in Buffalo Dr. Frazer became well acquainted with Grover Cleveland, and although the doctor ranks in politics as an Independent Republican and cast his ballot for Garfield and Arthur in 1880, and Cornell and Hoskins in 1879, he determined to support Mayor Cleveland and to vote for him on election day.

The opinion of such a man as Dr. Frazer, having such an opportunity of knowing the character of Mr. Cleveland, is worth a great deal. This is what he said in reply to an inquiry how Grover Cleveland was regarded by his neighbors in Buffalo :

“No man there enjoys greater popularity. He is just as square a man as you can meet. When I first went to Buffalo he was sheriff of Erie county—a position which he filled with credit to himself and great acceptability to every one else. His standing with his fellow-citizens is easily understood from the fact that Republicans and Democrats, irrespective of party, wheeled into line and placed him in mayoralty, and are supporting his policy as mayor. His neighbors hold him in the highest estimation and will give him a most cordial support. So far as intellectual qualifications for the office go, Mayor Cleveland is fully up to the standard. As a lawyer he has no superior in the section of the State where he lives. Most of the important cases there are given into his charge. He has had a thorough legal training and education, and thoroughly understands his profession. As far as worldly goods go, I do not think he is wealthy, but he is in comfortable circumstances, with the knowledge that what he has is the product of his own skill and industry. From a business standpoint he is a self-made man.

“He has shown that his executive capacity is first class. This is illustrated by his course as mayor of Buffalo. He sustains to the people of that city very much the same rela-

tion that Mayor Low sustains to the people of Brooklyn. When the time comes for Governor Cleveland to act I think he can be relied upon to act in accordance with his own best judgment. He is thoroughly independent. If he is elected he will subordinate partisan considerations to a proper conduct of the State government. The fact of his integrity of character is clearly recognized by all who know him. He possesses great stability of character. I do not believe he could be swayed from what he believed to be right by any consideration. If successful at the polls he will make a good governor—a first-rate governor. I don't think we could get a better one. In politics I am independent. Ordinarily I vote the Republican ticket, but this year, as I have told you, I shall vote for Grover Cleveland.

“Why should not independent men of all parties vote for Mayor Cleveland? The issues growing out of the war are settled. It is time to get down to business. Let us look to the future and not to the past. The proper thing for independent citizens to do who want good government is to assist in placing Mayor Cleveland in the gubernatorial chair.”

Hon. Sherman S. Rogers was at this time the leader of the Republican party in Erie county. Six years before, he had been the candidate of his party for Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with E. D. Morgan. He had served as State Senator and was a lawyer of high standing at the bar. During the contest in the New York Legislature for the United States Senatorship in 1881, Mr. Rogers was the leading candidate against Platt. There could be no question as to his standing in the party, while the fact that he had been a member of the firm in whose office Grover Cleveland studied gave assurance that he knew enough of

the character and abilities of the man of whom he spoke. Mr. Rogers did not hesitate to declare himself, against his party, in Cleveland's favor. He said :

"I have known Mr. Cleveland ever since we were young men together. I am several years older than he. He read law in our office. I was a clerk then. Yes, I knew him, and he is a fine man. He is a man of first-rate ability, and an excellent lawyer, and in his relations as a professional man and a citizen he is upright, and his record is clear. He has developed excellent executive faculties, and I can truly say that he will be found equal to the situation in which he will be placed. He can be firm, his integrity is unquestioned, and no scandals attach to his life. Grover Cleveland is a fine man."

The comments upon Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance were even more enthusiastic and generous than might have been expected. But his words carried the might of honest purpose. The New York Herald said of it :

"There are no sounding promises, no recitals of recondite statesmanlike policies in this plain, blunt letter of Mr. Cleveland. But it reads to us like the letter of an intelligent American who has thought enough about free government to let him see that it needs in rulers mainly good sense, honesty and courage, and who has no nonsense about him. It will prepossess every reader in favor of its writer."

The Republican Utica Herald said :

"Mayor Cleveland's letter contains no doctrine or expression that will not meet with the heartiest approval of every honest citizen of the Empire State. There could be no better evidence of the extraordinary obliteration of party issues that has come upon the country, than the fact that a Democratic candidate for Governor of New York State announces no principle to which any Republican can take exception."

The Buffalo Express declared :

"It is plain, terse, unornamented, saying not a word that the writer does not believe, sinking personal and partisan considerations out of sight, and bringing popular rights and political purification at once to the front. Mr. Cleveland's political career has been entirely consistent with the tone of his letter. It is an expression of the man. So is Judge Folger's of him. It should not take a clear-headed citizen long to determine which gives the better promise of a clean State government."

And, as expressing the common opinion of Democrats, and the better class of Republicans, there is given herewith in full the remarks of the Buffalo Courier and the New York Evening Post. The Courier of Oct. 10, 1882, said :

"The letter of Grover Cleveland accepting the nomination for the governorship tendered him by the Democratic party of the State is simple and straightforward in its style, sound and sensible in its teachings, and candid in its spirit. In a few plain words the writer gives frank expression to his opinions, as becomes a man of the people making known his purposes to the people. Not a word that our candidate has said needs either gloss or interpretation ; not a word needs to be excused or softened. The modest repose of sentiment and utterance in his letter is a relief after some of the emotional appeals recently addressed by candidates to the public.

"Mr. Cleveland accepts the declaration of principles adopted by the Syracuse convention, and promises without reservation to endeavor to impress the doctrines therein set forth upon his administration if elected to the governorship. On several points he dwells with emphasis. One of them is the necessity of rendering the primary elections in practice what they are in theory. Speaking of the caucus, he says :

“ ‘Here the people themselves are supposed to speak ; here they put their own hands to the machinery of government ; and in this place should be found the manifestation of the popular will.’

“ ‘When these primary elections are controlled by officials, whether State or Federal or by hired mobs, our government ceases to be really representative.

“ ‘To the cause of civil service reform Mr. Cleveland pledges his hearty support, and to the usual statement of the principles by which appointments to the public service and removals from it should be regulated he adds the shrewd practical observation that if subordinate official positions should cease to be mere well-paid sinecures, there would be less hunger for them.

“ ‘If,’ he says, ‘the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation, and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold public places would be much diminished, and, it seems to me, the cause of civil service reform materially aided.’ The fact that men in such positions know they were appointed through political influence and not through personal merit, and the consciousness that they are not rendering fair service for their wages make them willing to submit to assessments for party purposes. Men who were honestly earning their salaries would not allow themselves to be black-mailed.

“ ‘Perhaps few questions are more important than those affecting municipal government, especially in this great State, with its many rich and populous cities, and the few bold words in which Mr. Cleveland asserts the necessity for home rule will meet a quick response among the thousands who have suffered from misgovernment through interference at the State capital. For our own part we would

be willing to see the substance of his declaration, 'I am unalterably opposed to the interference of the legislature with the government of municipalities,' embodied in a constitutional amendment.

"After touching lightly, but firmly on the relations of corporations to the State, the rights of labor and the necessity of maintaining an effective militia, Mr. Cleveland speaks with emphasis of the dangers which threaten us from the lavish use of money for the purchase of voters at the polls or to influence legislation ; but he does not speak despairingly. He is so thoroughly democratic that he has full faith in the people, and he rejoices in the fact that when they are aroused to the knowledge of the corrupt practices in vogue they will remind their leaders 'that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.'

"The letter closes with the somewhat quaint and original statement that much of the mystery and difficulty which hang about the administration of public affairs arises out of the forgetfulness of the simple end of government. Politicians endeavor to mix the service of a party, or the service of individual ambition, with the service of the people. He says truly :

" 'We may, I think, reduce to quite simple elements the duty which public servants owe by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend for their benefit the money drawn from them by taxation.'

"It is by acting in this spirit that Mr. Cleveland has conducted the affairs of Buffalo so admirably, and apparently without an effort. Taking up the duties of the great office of Governor of New York—soon to devolve on him—with the same devotion to public interests, and oblivion of per-

sonal and party considerations, he will command the same success.

"At the close of this admirable letter we are impressed with this general fact. There is hardly a word in it about the writer or his fortunes, and hardly a word in it about his party. Solicitude for the people, solicitude for good government, solicitude for civic virtue and public prosperity breathe in every line of the epistle. What a contrast to the long plea for himself and the prospects of his party with which the so-called Republican candidate accepted the fraudulent nomination tendered him at Saratoga!"

The comments of the New York Evening Post were as follows:

"Mr. Cleveland, in accepting the nomination for the governorship, had the great advantage of not being obliged to apologize for anything. There was in his case no need for an appeal to popular pity on account of his having become a candidate for a high office in a way he was ashamed of. He was at liberty to tell the people without circumlocution what views he entertained upon questions of public interest and what sort of a governor he expected to be if elected. This he has done in fewer words than his competitor, Mr. Folger, found himself under the necessity of using. Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance cannot be called a brilliant or artistic production. There are no figures of speech and no rhetorical exaggerations in it. Its tone is simple, sober, and direct, with the exception of the paragraph on 'free canals,' in which Mr. Cleveland, like both party platforms, and like Mr. Folger, believing that the people are thinking deeply upon it, abstains from expressing any opinion of his own.

"He lays much stress on the necessity of surrounding the primary election 'by such safeguards as will secure the

absolutely free and uncontrolled action' of the real public opinion of political parties, and the position he takes on this point is so well supported by argument that he may well be expected to give every well-considered legislative measure serving that end an energetic and intelligent support. What he says about the reform of the civil service might have been more specific. The value of general professions depends entirely upon the character and ability of the man who stands behind them. He declares himself against the levying of assessments for partisan purposes in two sentences, which could scarcely be more emphatic. As to municipal government, Mr. Cleveland is most unequivocally in favor of 'home rule,' in the same sense in which Mayor Low advocates it. He insists that corporations are the creatures of law for certain rights in which they must be protected, and certain duties which they must be held to perform. He promises to execute the law providing for a railroad corporation in good faith, and with an honest design to effectuate its objects. The laboring classes, he thinks, should be protected in their efforts 'peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital.' But when he says that 'the laboring classes constitute the main part of our population,' he is right if he includes all those who perform work of some kind in the various walks of life; but he is certainly not right if he includes only operatives in manufactories and other laborers who are under the control of 'aggregated capital.' His remarks about the 'expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls, or to secure legislation,' are especially appropriate and forcible at a time when the hand of Jay Gould is so plainly seen in the politics of the State.

"The most striking peculiarity of Mr. Cleveland's letter is that no reader unacquainted with the party standing of its author would, from the principles expressed, the meas-

ures advocated, and the language employed in it, be able to form the slightest opinion as to whether it was the letter of a Democrat, or a Republican, or an independent, non-partisan candidate. There is absolutely nothing in it to which any honest Republican, as well as any honest Democrat, or any honest no-party man would not cheerfully subscribe. It is a remarkable proof of the entire disappearance of the old party issues that such letters can be written, as they are creditable to those who write them. Mr. Cleveland truthfully observes 'that the perplexities and the mystery often surrounding the administration of State concerns grow, in a great measure, out of an attempt to serve partisan ends rather than the welfare of the citizen. In other words, the most puzzling difficulties in the way of the solution of public problems would disappear if the latter were treated simply upon their own proper merits. It is certainly time that they should. Mr. Cleveland has acted wisely in laying special stress upon this point. If he is called into the Governor's chair it will not be by partisan votes alone, but by the support of a large number of citizens who put all party spirit aside for the purpose of expressing their condemnation of corrupt practices, and of generally lifting up the tone of our political life from its present degradation. Their hopes as to himself would be disappointed if he failed to 'reduce to quite simple elements the duty which public servants owe by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend for their benefit the money drawn from them by taxation.'"

CHAPTER XXII.

Grover Cleveland Elected Governor of the State of New York.—His Phenomenal Majority.—A Surprise even to his Friends.—Rejoicing Over the Result.—Governor Cleveland Goes to Albany.—His Quiet Entrance.—An Unpretentious Inauguration.—His First Message to the Legislature.

Grover Cleveland was elected Governor of the State of New York by a majority that has rightly been called phenomenal. Rightly stated he received about 200,000 votes more than his Republican competitor. Not even the most sanguine of his friends anticipated such a tremendous popular indorsement of the reform candidate. It was a surprise to them, and an astonishment to the Republican ring.

Where did all these votes come from? Certainly not all from the Democratic party; for, although Governor Tilden, on a similar issue of reform, was elected, in 1874, by 51,000 majority, in 1881, the year before Governor Cleveland's election, the Republican ticket was elected by 13,000. The wonderful majority received by Governor Cleveland came from the solid Democratic vote, increased by that large section of the Republican party which came over to the support of an honest man.

It was the most remarkable political revolution known in the history of the State; and it is safe to say that it would have been impossible of accomplishment but for the rare qualities which Grover Cleveland brought to the candidacy. The whole people knew him, and knew he was honest and



STATE HOUSE, ALBANY, NEW YORK.

10/10/10

To the Legislature:

"In obedience to the provision of the constitution which requires that the governor shall communicate to the Legislature, at every session, the condition of the State, and recommend such matters to them as he shall judge expedient. I submit this, my first annual message, with the intimation that a newly elected executive can hardly be prepared to present a complete exhibit of State affairs, or to submit in a great variety of recommendations for the action of the legislature."

From the statement furnished me by the comptroller, the bills of which will be found in the annual report of that body it appears that the finances of the State are in a satisfactory condition."

The governor then gave the figures of the financial report by the comptroller, and continued:
The imperfection of our laws touching the matter of taxation, or the faulty execution of existing statutes on the subject, is glaringly apparent. The power of the State to exact from the citizen a part of his earnings and income for the support of the government, is obvious should be exercised with absolute fairness and justice. When it is not so exercised, the people are oppressed. This furnishes the highest and the best reason why laws should be enacted and executed which will subject all property, as all alike need the protection of the State, to an equal share in the burdens of taxation, by means of which the government is maintained. And yet it is notoriously true that personal property not less remunerative than land and real estate, escapes to a very great extent the payment of its fair proportion of the expense incident to its protection and preservation under the law. The people should always be able to recognize the law. The satisfaction which are the strength of our institutions.

tions, in the conduct of the State, the source of indiscriminating justice, which can give no pretext for discontent."

The next subject considered in the governor's message was that of the canals. After stating the condition of revenue and expenditures in this department, he proceeded:

"The adoption of the amendment to the Constitution abolishing tolls on the canals, renders it necessary for the present Legislature to provide by tax for their maintenance and repair for the year ending September 30, 1884.

"The amount required for these repairs the superintendent estimates at \$500,000. Some legislation will also be necessary, under our new canal policy, to provide for the inspection of boats and the collection and preservation of statistics.

"Since, by the adoption of the constitutional amendment, the cost of maintaining the canals is to be met by a tax upon all the property of the State, it is our plain duty to deal with this subject with strict economy. The safeguards heretofore existing in the Constitution, which protected the taxpayers from unlimited expense in the management and repairs of the canals, having been relinquished by the people, this act is by no means to be regarded as an indication that they have forgotten the time when the extravagance and fraud connected with the canals were a scandal and reproach to the State. They have, in their devotion to their great waterways, and in the fear that the limitations of the Constitution might impair their usefulness, surrendered the protection thus afforded, together with the revenue derived from tolls, and have intrusted the whole matter to their chosen representatives. In the execution of the trust committed to us under such circumstances, all propositions and schemes for the enlargement of the canals or the expenditure of large sums of money in their alteration, should, in my opinion, be stubbornly opposed, at least until the effect of the aboli-

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

of tolls is fully apparent. At the present time, what people want, and what they will demand, is the management of the canals as they now exist in such manner as their utmost capacity shall be made available at the least possible cost.

Considerable sums of money which have been appropriated for specific canal purposes, still remain in the treasury, expended by the same having been heretofore prevented by the prohibition of the Constitution. It is suggested that these moneys might well constitute a fund to be drawn upon to meet unforeseen emergencies.

From a statement furnished by the canal appraisers, it appears that the number of claims filed during the last fiscal year was eighty-nine, amounting in the aggregate to \$168,257. During the same time 273 claims, amounting to \$66,741.58, have been disposed of, the aggregate of awards made upon the same amounting to only \$19,644.76.

Since the close of the fiscal year only a large number of other claims have been adjudicated, which leaves at the present time about 400 to be acted upon. At the close of the year ending September 30, 1881, it appears to have been 741 claims on file awaiting decision.

The expense attending the maintenance of this board, the payment of awards, the last fiscal year, was \$639.20, of which sum \$15,280.07 was paid to various means employed to defend, on the part of the State, claimants.

Whether to submit in this place for consideration the board of canal appraisers and the board of which shall have the power to hear and determine all claims against the State, and to protect the same, is a question which shall be determined by the people.

to the State would be much better assured if these demands were submitted to persons whose experience and training fit them for the examination of the questions involved, according to the rules and methods which prevail in courts of justice. It is apparent that such a tribunal could be maintained and a competent person provided as counsel to protect the interests of the State, at a much less expense than that attending the board of canal appraisers and board of audit, and with vastly more satisfactory results.

"I can see no reason why the office of auditor of the canal department may not also be abolished. The cost of its maintenance during the last year is reported as being more than \$22,000. Since the change in the constitution the duties which might devolve upon that officer, could, it is believed, be well performed in the comptroller's office with very little increase in the expense of that department.

"It is supposed that the changes above suggested would result in an annual saving of more than \$30,000, with no detriment to the public service."

After expressing gratification at the increased attendance reported at the public schools, the message gave the statistics of the savings banks in the State, and continued :

"This statement shows an increase over last year of \$10,765,848 in deposits, \$1,322,027 in surplus and profits, and a net aggregate increase in assets of \$13,869,620.

"On the first day of October last, there were in the State fourteen corporations for the safe keeping and guaranteeing of personal property, employing \$2,676,900 of capital in the aggregate.

"State supervision of banks is worse than useless unless it is thorough and effective. Under the law as it now stands, the superintendent of the banking department must cause an examination to be made of these institutions only

when, in *his* opinion, there is good reason to suspect an unsound condition, or false reports. It would seem that the solvency of the banks and the protection of depositors would be better *assured*, if one or more examinations, in each year, were *made compulsory* on the department."

Passing *to* the subject of insurance, the governor, after giving the *statistics* of this department, said:

"I am informed that the expenses of maintaining this department for the year ending September 30, 1882, were at least \$100,000, while recent investigations tend to convince the ordinary mind that this department, and the laws in relation to the subject of insurance, do not furnish the protection to the people which they ought. I suggest that steps be taken to make this department more useful and less expensive, and that the law touching the entire question of insurance be reduced to a plain and simple enactment which shall be a safeguard against the abuses to which this important interest is now exposed."

The militia then received consideration:

"On the first day of July last a camp of instruction was established near Peekskill, which was maintained until the fourth day of August. Six regiments were consecutively ordered to this camp, remaining there from five to eight days each. If, as the result of this inaugural encampment seems to indicate, the usefulness of the National Guard can be thereby promoted, with a reasonable expenditure of money, I am of the opinion that a sufficient amount should be appropriated annually to permit at least a part of the force to receive the advantages of this new feature of military instruction."

"With the reduction of the number of men enrolled, the efficiency and discipline of the force becomes a matter of the first importance; and I trust that all legislation on the

subject, as well as the administration of the military affairs of the State, will be in that direction."

After presenting the figures showing the financial condition of the prisons of the State, the message proceeded :

"It will be seen from this statement that the total earnings of the three prisons were \$6,257.58 in excess of their expenses, and that the large surplus in Sing Sing creates this balance in favor of the State, notwithstanding the deficiency in Auburn and Clinton prisons. But I deem it proper to call attention to the fact that the number of convicts confined at Sing Sing is considerably in excess of the number of cells provided. This necessitates the placing of two convicts in many of the cells, which must be injurious to the morals and health of the prisoners so confined, and dangerous to the discipline of the institution. At the same time Auburn and Clinton prisons have sufficient vacant cells to more than relieve, if occupied, the Sing Sing prison of its surplus of convicts beyond its natural capacity.

"If these penal institutions are self-sustaining, without injury or embarrassment to honest labor, it is a matter for congratulation ; but it is, at least, very questionable whether the State should go further and seek to realize a profit from its convict labor. In my judgment it should not, especially if the danger of competition between convicts and those who honestly toil, is thereby increased, and the over-crowding of any of the prisons, with its attendant evils, is the result."

Discussing the subject of the conduct of the public charitable institutions, the governor said :

"If, as seems to be generally conceded, insanity is a disease needing special and peculiar treatment, it must be that the chance of improvement in those affected by this malady would be greatly increased if they could have the care

afforded by an institution especially established for its treatment.

"The usefulness of such institutions depends very much on the confidence which the public have in their proper conduct, and it is abundantly demonstrated that the people are ready to believe, sometimes on very slight grounds, the gravest charges of mismanagement and inhuman treatment with reference to their superintendence. It is equally certain that if abuses in the care of the insane exist, there should be the least possible opportunity for their continuance without exposure. Frequent visitations and the most thorough examination should be made either by local boards or by properly constituted State authorities, which the people would be sure were in nowise committed, except to the faithful discharge of their duties. By this means these institutions would be protected from unjust charges and suspicion, and the confidence of our citizens in their management be secured.

"A dispute has arisen between the board of charities and the managers of some of the insane asylums in regard to their respective rights and duties, which should be settled by plain statutory provisions."

Careful as ever of the expenditure of the people's money, the governor called attention, in connection, with the subject of quarantine and health, to an abuse of some standing at the port of New York :

"From a report of a special committee appointed by the Senate in 1881, it appears that while the emoluments of the health officer of the port of New York were very difficult of exact ascertainment, the committee came to the conclusion that the net income of that officer did not average less than \$40,000 per annum, and might, in favorable years, reach a sum upwards of \$60,000. No one can read this report without being convinced that this estimate is a very

OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

moderate one, and represents a sum of money a the commerce of our principal port in startling dis to services rendered, and greater than any man receive for official service.

"If the fees and charges are so high that the con of the port is injuriously affected by their collection, should be reduced ; if they are to be continued, all reasonable sum for the salary, to of the health officer sho applied, if legally possible, to the support of the quar establishment ; and if this cannot be done, they shou so limited as to yield to the officer a fair salary only relieving our commerce to that extent.

"And here it is deemed proper to call the attent legislature to the subject of harbor masters. The in force provides for the appointment of these off a Captain of the port of New York. Their dut erally to provide and assign suitable accom all ships and vessels, to regulate them at the sta shall occupy at the wharves, and to exercise oth of a kindred character, over shipping.

"As compensation for the performance of th they are by the statute under which their app authorized, permitted to collect certain fees to the masters, owners or consignees of vessels port.

"In October, 1876, the Supreme Court of States adjudged that the provision of our stat the collection of those fees was unconstitutional and yet their exaction has been continued b appointed by the State, and having no other pensation. The money thus collected is c tain of the port 'voluntary payments by th

"The great State of New York should der the accusation that it knowingly pe

own creation to burden the commerce entering its port, by the exaction of charges which the highest tribunal in the land has determined to be illegal.

"It is worthy of the consideration of the Legislature whether the duties attached to these offices could not properly be performed under the auspices of the department of docks in the city of New York. If, however, it is determined that the office of harbor-master is necessary, some way should be devised by which he can be legally compensated for his services.

"The subject of port wardens and the system of pilotage connected with the port of New York, are also commended to the consideration of the Legislature, as matters which need further regulation by well-digested laws.

"A reference is hardly necessary to the fact that if we are to maintain the supremacy of our port against a constantly increasing competition, there should be no unfavorable contrast in regard to fees and charges, which are indirectly a tax on its commerce."

Speaking of the new Capitol, which at that time had cost over \$14,000,000, the governor said:

"A commission was appointed during the past year by my predecessor, pursuant to chapter 295 of the laws of 1882, to survey and examine the different parts of the building, as to the safety and durability of the work, more especially the assembly chamber and its ceiling. In their report, which was made in September last, they express doubt as to the stability of the vaulted ceiling of the assembly chamber, and recommend that most of the stone vaulting be removed, and its place supplied with a construction of wood.

"This report has provoked a reply from the architects of the building, in which they insist that in its present state, and without repairs, there is nothing in the condition of the

ceiling of the assembly chamber to warrant apprehension in regard to its safety, or to prevent its immediate occupation.

"It must be regarded, at least, as very unfortunate that this question should arise before the completion of this building, and notwithstanding the fact that the expense of its construction thus far has been the cause of so much complaint.

"If there remains a question as to its safety in any part, it should be put at rest before proceeding further. If there is no such question, the building should be finished as quickly as practicable, and the delays, errors and expense attending its construction, if possible, forgotten."

In treating of other subjects of general importance, the governor gave sound advice and direction to the Legislature on various topics, as follows :

"At the last election the people adopted an amendment to the constitution, by the terms of which the Legislature has the power to organize an additional general term of the Supreme Court, and to provide for the election by the electors of the respective judicial districts of not more than two additional justices of that court in the first, fifth, seventh, and eighth, and not more than one such justice in the second, third, fourth, and sixth judicial districts. In the performance of the duty imposed by this amendment, extraordinary care should be exercised in order that the enormous expense which the people are already called upon to meet in the support of the various branches of the judiciary of the State, shall not be increased beyond the amount necessary to relieve such of the courts as are plainly overburdened.

"The last Legislature neglected its plain duty in failing to re-apportion the State into congressional districts, according to the United States census of 1880, and pursuant to

the allotment by Congress of our quota of members of the House of Representatives. It is to be hoped that this work will be speedily undertaken. To make an apportionment of the population of the State into thirty-four districts, having due regard to geographical situation and contiguity of territory, requires but little time and no great amount of ingenuity, if attempted with fair and honest intentions.

"It is submitted that the appointment of subordinates in the several State departments, and their tenure of office or employment should be based upon fitness and efficiency, and that this principle should be embodied in legislative enactment, to the end that the policy of the State may conform to the reasonable public demand on that subject.

"The formation and administration of the government of cities are subjects of much public interest, and of great importance to many of the inhabitants of the State. The formation of such governments is properly matter for most careful legislation. They should be so organized as to be simple in their details and to cast upon the people affected thereby the full responsibility of their administration. The different departments should be in such accord as in their operation to lead toward the same results. Divided counsels and divided responsibility to the people, on the part of municipal officers, it is believed, give rise to much that is objectionable in the government of cities. If, to remedy this evil, the chief executive should be made answerable to the people for the proper conduct of the city's affairs, it is quite clear that his power in the selection of those who manage its different departments should be greatly enlarged.

"The protection of the people in their primaries will, it is hoped, be secured by the early passage of a law for that purpose, which will rid the present system of the evils which surround it, tending to defraud the people of rights closely connected with their privileges as citizens.

"It is confidently expected that those who represent the people in the present Legislature will address themselves to the enactment of such laws as are for the benefit of all the citizens of the State, to the exclusion of special legislation and interference with affairs which should be managed by the localities to which they pertain. It is not only the right of the people to administer their local government, but it should be made their duty to do so. Any departure from this doctrine is an abandonment of the principles upon which our institutions are founded, and a concession of the infirmity and partial failure of the theory of a representative form of government.

"If the aid of the Legislature is invoked to further projects which should be subject to local control and management, suspicion should be at once aroused, and the interference sought should be promptly and sternly refused. If local rule is in any instance bad, weak or inefficient, those who suffer from mal-administration have the remedy within their own control. If, through their neglect or inattention, it falls into unworthy hands, or if bad methods and practices gain a place in its administration, it is neither harsh nor unjust to remit those who are responsible for those conditions to their self-invited fate, until their interest, if no better motive, prompts them to an earnest and active discharge of the duties of good citizenship.

"Let us enter upon the discharge of our duties, fully appreciating our relations to the people, and determined to serve them faithfully and well. This involves a jealous watch of the public funds, and a refusal to sanction their appropriation except for public needs. To this end all unnecessary offices should be abolished, and all employment of doubtful benefit discontinued. If to this we add the enactment of such wise and well-considered laws as will meet the varied wants of our fellow-citizens and increase

their prosperity, we shall merit and receive the approval of those whose representatives we are, and with the consciousness of duty well performed, shall leave our impress for good on the legislation of the State."

With this message began Grover Cleveland's administration of the office of governor of the great State of New York.



EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, N. Y.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Governor Cleveland in the Executive Chamber.—He Throws Wide Open the Doors.—A Simple and Democratic Style Adopted.—The Governor's Life at Albany.—The Executive Mansion.—Personal and Official Habits.—Mastery of the Details of Administration.—His Official Appointments.

Immediately after the delivery of his message, Governor Cleveland returned to the Executive Chamber and went to work at once. This chamber is a large and lofty room, from whose high windows there is had a magnificent view of the city, the river and the country and hills beyond. Like all the apartments in the new Capitol, it is finished in rich and substantial taste, its heavy wainscoting, its leather-covered walls, its fretted ceiling, and its artistic fireplace and furniture giving it a rarely sumptuous air. Full length portraits of past chief magistrates hang upon its walls, while in the center of the great room, in a chair before a broad table on which many papers are spread, was Governor Cleveland's chosen seat.

When Governor Cleveland entered this room as its official occupant, he swept away with one short order the accumulation of formalities which had grown up around the office.

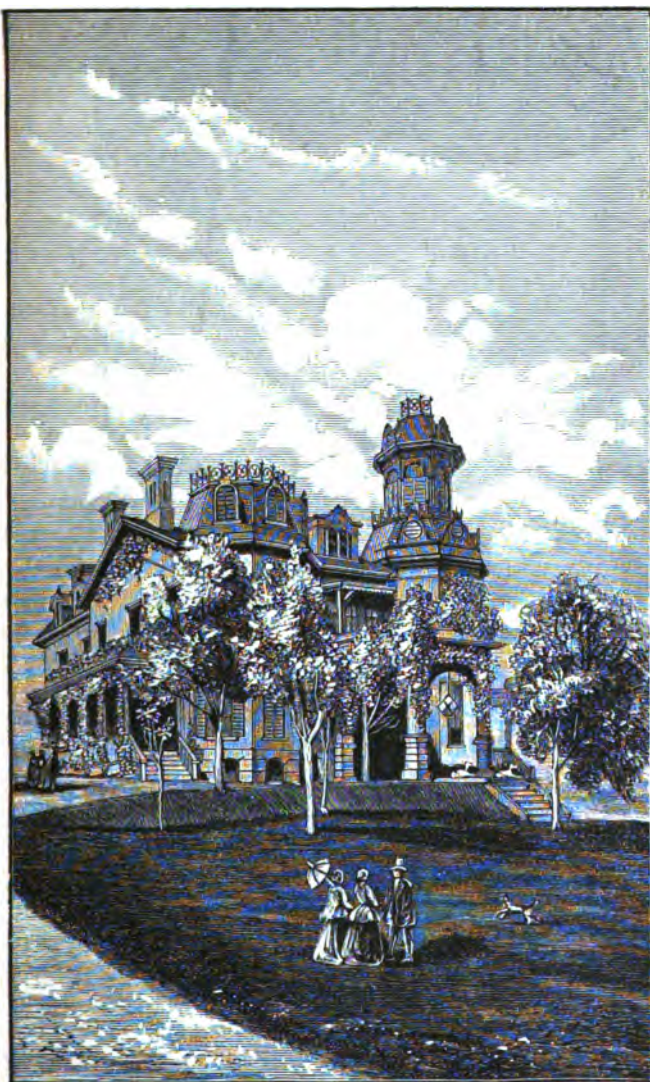
"Admit at once any one who asks to see the governor," was his order to the attendant in charge.

Never was a more radical change effected in the official routine of the executive department. Up to this time there had been all sorts of delays and impediments in the path

that led to an interview with the chief executive. Cards must be sent in and all sorts of formalities observed before the august presence could be approached. But now the doors swung open promptly to every caller, and the mysteries of the Executive Chamber became open to the day. This was quite in accordance with the simple and Democratic ideas and habits of Governor Cleveland; and while it might have proved a dangerous experiment in the case of a man less competent to deal with men and affairs, Governor Cleveland proved himself fully able to prevent any abuse of this freedom of access.

The traits of industry, unostentatious dignity, thoroughness and simplicity which marked Grover Cleveland's earlier career, continued observable in his life at Albany. Being unmarried, he lived alone in the Executive Mansion. This is a structure which in no way corresponds with the modern sumptuousness of the new Capitol. It is indeed a comfortably elegant residence, but neither in its construction nor its appointments is it such as to overwhelm one with its magnificence. It is not a very imposing house, although there is some attempt at architectural beauty of a rather clumsy sort, standing back from the street on a sloping lawn, and partially hidden by ornamental trees. Its interior is roomy and comfortable, and measurably well arranged for entertainment. Governor Cleveland, however, has confined his official hospitalities to the customary reception to the members of the Legislature, the absence of ladies in his family rendering general festivities inconvenient.

In this mansion Governor Cleveland took up his bachelor residence, it being the first occasion on which he had occupied a separate dwelling since he left his uncle's house at Black Rock for rooms nearer the center part of the city. He had lived all his professional life in apartments usually over his law office, where he could be close to his work.



NEW YORK EXECUTIVE MANSION, ALBANY.

His habits, as has been said, continued simple. It was his custom to rise promptly at seven o'clock in all seasons of the year, and walk from the Executive Mansion to the Capitol. This distance is not great, being somewhat less than a mile. But Governor Cleveland has never used a carriage, and his sturdy figure is well known on the streets of Albany as a pedestrian by habit and preference.

"Arrived at the Capitol, it was his custom to dispose of such matters in his mail as required his attention, his private secretary having opened and arranged the papers for him, and then to devote himself to callers and official business until one o'clock. At that hour he walked home to lunch, returning promptly at two o'clock. Public business then engaged his attention until six, when he walked to dinner, usually being back in the Executive Chamber at eight o'clock and working long into the night.

This simple routine, is seldom infringed upon. Governor Cleveland was always a hard-working man. Whatever he had to do, he did with his might, and this is one of the open secrets of his wonderful success. He came to Albany a novice in State affairs, and set himself at work to learn them. Instead of being satisfied to take things as they came and trust to luck and the guidance and experience of others for the successful handling of the business that came to him, he made a close and diligent study of the details as well as the wider scope of State legislation and administration. As the result, the first few months of his administration furnished evidence that he had soon made himself master of every detail and principle of the administration of the State government. He is a thorough student, and whatever he has to do he studies thoroughly, and when he has finished he knows his ground and does that which appears to him right, regardless of any other consideration than the public good.

"Wait until he gets to Albany," said a noted lobbyist to one of Mayor Cleveland's friends after the election, and before the mayor had left the Buffalo City Hall. "He may do very well here among your ward politicians, but at Albany he will have the strongest men in the State of New York to manage. Wait until those men get hold of him and see what he will do."

But Governor Cleveland did not disappoint the expectations of the people who had chosen him for the great work of reform in the State government. His address evinced a deep sense of the responsibility which had come upon him, and a distrust of his ability to meet it fully, coupled with an evident determination to do his best. He was obliged at once to address the Legislature and to face the requirements of its action. One of his first acts was to appoint the railroad commissioners provided for by the law passed the year before. The admirable character of his selections showed his judgment of men and of their fitness for special duties. The same characteristic was displayed as well as a conscientious disregard of mere partisan considerations in the important appointments which came later in the session. In naming Mr. Shanahan as superintendent of public works, Mr. Perry as commissioner of the new Capitol, and Mr. Andrews as superintendent of the Capitol building, he disregarded political influence and looked to fitness alone. In his letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination, he had said: "Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit." And, in advancing Assistant Superintendent McCall to the head

GROVER CLEVELAND.

of the insurance department, he exemplified civil service reform to which he was fully

It has been truly said of Governor Cleveland: "He is a potent critic of his administration: 'He conforms with these sentiments in making but promptly approved the civil service public sentiment and the persistency of an compelled the Legislature to pass, following a most admirable appointment of commission aided and sustained the commission at an unreserved and honest manner. In developing his peculiarity of studying carefully the Legislature generally Governor laid before him, not only with a view to effect and bearing upon public interest that it was consistent with existing laws from such defects as would produce trouble. He adopted a practice quite unusual in form, to have them corrected. In quite numerous, he displayed the utmost complete disregard of the question which interests would not be aggrieved by which he believed were not demanded of the public."

Governor Cleveland's vetoes and the history of his administration allowed to speak for him in the pages

CHAPTER XXIV.

Governor Cleveland's State Papers.—Business Principles Introduced in the State Administration.—Some of his Early Vetoes.—A Defense of Local Self-Government and Home Rule.—Illegal Appropriation of Public Money Rebuked.—Fayetteville's Steam-Fire Engine.

"It seems to me," said Mayor Cleveland, in his inaugural message before the Common Council of the city of Buffalo, "that a successful and faithful ministration of the government of a city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should, at all times, be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns."

So well had he carried out this idea as executive of the city of Buffalo, that within one year the people had called him to the head of the State administration. He now began to apply the same principles to the conduct of the business of the State, with an equally conscientious spirit. He gave his approval, without hesitation, to measures which looked to the public benefit, while he exercised, with the same promptness, the veto power to protect the people against unwise and injurious legislation. It is in the latter class of cases that we can read most clearly the character

and effect of his strongly independent action as chief magistrate.

Among his early communications to the Legislature is a veto message, dated February 5, 1883, in which a watchful care for the privileges of the citizen is shown in a marked manner. The bill which he returned unsigned was one relating to the city of Elmira, in which were certain provisions covering the liability of the city for injuries to citizens, which must operate severely against individuals. The message, which explains the matter clearly, is given herewith: "*To the Assembly:*

"Assembly bill No. 4, entitled 'An act to amend chapter three hundred and seventy of the laws of eighteen hundred and seventy-five, entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the several acts relating to the city of Elmira,"' is herewith returned without approval.

"This bill provides among other things, that the city of Elmira shall not be liable for damages or injury sustained by any person in consequence of any street, highway, bridge, culvert, sidewalk or cross-walk in said city being out of repair, unsafe, dangerous or in any manner obstructed, unless actual notice in writing of such condition be given to the Common Council, the mayor or the city clerk, at least forty-eight hours previous to such damage or injury. It is also provided that all claims (which was probably intended for claimants) against the city for damages or injury alleged to have arisen from such defective, unsafe or dangerous condition, or from the negligence of the city authorities in respect to any such street, highway, bridge, culvert, sidewalk or cross-walk shall, within fifteen days after the happening of such damage or injury, notify the mayor or city attorney in writing, signed by the claimant and duly verified, describing the time, location of the place where such injury occurred, cause and extent of the dam-

age or injury, and that the failure to so present such claim shall be a bar to any action or proceedings therefor against the city. The time for commencing an action for such damage or injury is limited to six months from the happening of the same.

“These provisions establish a different rule to govern the liability of the city of Elmira in cases of injury caused by negligence, than that which prevails in other parts of the State.

“I regard this as special legislation of the most objectionable character.

“Besides being wrong in principle, the practical operation of such an enactment cannot fail, it seems to me, to produce injustice and jeopardize personal rights. Under the provisions of this bill the municipality is absolved from the consequences of the grossest negligence of its agents and servants resulting in the most serious injury to the citizen, unless actual notice of the negligent acts or omissions be given. No person would be likely to serve such notice in anticipation of being himself injured by reason of the conditions specified in the bill; and if he did, he would by that very act furnish such proof of his knowledge of the existence of danger, and his opportunity to avoid it, as might defeat his claim for redress. And certainly a cause of action against the city for injuries sustained through negligence ought not to depend upon anything which a stranger to the controversy may have done or omitted.

“I am also unwilling to sanction such an invitation to relax the duty of municipal authorities to properly care for the duty of the citizen.

“The provisions of the bill requiring the presentation of a claim for damages within fifteen days, and the commencement of an action within six months after the happening of the injury, are obviously objectionable, as unnecessarily and unreasonably restricting the right of the party injured to re-

cover by a resort to the courts the damages which he has sustained."

Early in the year, also, there came up the same delicate question which he had handled at one time when mayor of Buffalo. It was the appropriation of money from the public treasury for a soldiers' monument. The Constitution and laws of New York differ somewhat from those of some other states, and in regard to the incurring of indebtedness by towns and the expenditure of money raised by taxation, the provisions are very strict. So that, while patriotism and kind feeling might inspire a free grant of public money for such memorial purposes, the law strictly forbade it. Thus, when the Legislature carelessly voted authority to the county of Chautauqua to appropriate money for this purpose, it became the ungracious duty of an honest executive to interpose his veto and tell them that, while it might be patriotic, it was unlawful. Grover Cleveland never hesitated because a duty was unpleasant, and this is the message he sent back with the unsigned bill:

"To the Assembly: Assembly bill No. 88, entitled 'An act authorizing the Board of Supervisors of Chautauqua county to appropriate money for the purchase of land upon which to erect a soldiers' and sailors' monument,' is herewith returned without approval.

"It is not an agreeable duty to refuse to give sanction to the appropriation of money for such a worthy and patriotic object; but I cannot forget that the money proposed to be appropriated is public money to be raised by taxation, and that all that justifies its exaction from the people, is the necessity of its use for purposes connected with the safety and substantial welfare of the taxpayers.

"The application of this principle furnishes, I think, a sufficient reason why this bill should not be approved.

"I am of the opinion, too, that the appropriation of this money by the board of supervisors would constitute the incurring of an indebtedness by the county to be thereafter met by taxation. If this be true, the proposed legislation is forbidden by section eleven of article eight of the constitution, which provides that no county, city, town or village shall be allowed to incur any indebtedness except for county, city, town or village purposes.

"Before this prohibition became a part of the constitution, a statute was passed permitting monuments to be erected to fallen soldiers at the expense of the inhabitants of the county within which they were located; but the expenditure of money raised by taxation for such a purpose was only allowed when especially sanctioned by the vote of a majority of all the electors of the county. In the bill under consideration the taxpayers are not permitted to be heard on the subject.

"It is thus evident that the legislation proposed, guards less the rights and interests of the people than the statute passed before the constitutional amendment prohibited all enactments of this description.

"I may perhaps be permitted to express the hope that a due regard to fundamental principles and a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, which furnish the limit as well as the guide to legislation, will prevent the passage of bills of this nature in the future."

Curiously enough, one of the first legislative acts that came before him related to the village of Fayetteville, where he, some twenty-five years before, had been a clerk in the general store. The village wanted to borrow money for the purchase of a steam-fire engine, and came to the Legislature for authority. A bill was passed granting the request; but Governor Cleveland took the occasion of reading the Legis-

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lature and the villagers a lecture on local self-g
telling them that the statutes already gave the l
of supervisors full power in such matters, and
not to be found shirking the responsibility by a
the Legislature. On this point he said:
"By reference to section 25
of 1875, it will be
boards of

On this point he said: "By reference to section 21 of chapter 482 of 1875, it will be seen that the authority is boards of supervisors to authorize villages and counties to do precisely the things mentioned in the act referred to was passed, as its title 'An act to confer upon boards of supervisors and further power of local administration, being, and with the interest therein specified, being of local interest should be disposed of by an authority nearest the Legislature of the State. "This intent accords with the constitution, and with some with the

"This intent accords with the letter and
substitution, and with sound political principle.
"With a statute so plain, and containing
easy of fulfillment, I can hardly understand
bills of the kind under consideration should
and passed.
"The members of the house should be
allowed to shift their constituents
could be

"The members of the boards of supervisors hardly understand their constituents to the Legislature of unusual expenditures should know whether or not they should be made and their localities, and should be made and proper duties as local legislators. If this were inaugurated, perhaps fewer schemes involving increased

"In this particular case I think it would be sage of many of the best men to have increased

"In this particular case I have before me of many of the best citizens of the local sage of this bill."

Another case in which, with the strong business instinct that distinguished him, he insisted that responsibility could not and should not be shifted, was that of a bill passed authorizing the comptroller to compromise and settle certain claims against the sureties of the bankrupt First National Bank of Buffalo. Governor Cleveland refused to sign the bill, saying :

"The persons who seek to be relieved under this bill signed a bond to the State for the safe keeping and repayment on demand of certain moneys deposited in behalf of the State in the First National Bank of Buffalo.

"The bank has failed and is unable to refund the State's deposits. The securities in the bond have thus become liable to pay the money, and I can see no reason why they should be relieved.

"I am willing to do what I can to check the growing impressions that contracts with the State will not be insisted upon or may be evaded. The money deposited with the bank was public money belonging to the people and I regard it the duty of all having the care of State affairs to see to it that no part is lost by an improper indulgence to those who have agreed that it should be safely kept."

Wherever an encroachment upon the rights or the authority of a community was proposed, Governor Cleveland opposed an unyielding veto in the way. His belief in local self-government was absolute and sincere, and he gave that principle every protection in his power. He would not permit the Legislature to interfere to disturb the working of local grants. In one case of this sort, it was proposed, by act of the Legislature, to change the character and increase the expense of the construction of a certain avenue in Long Island City. Governor Cleveland refused to sanction the act, saying :

"The bill before me expressly ignores the local authorities of the city within which the work is to be done, and in effect transfers their powers in such cases, as contained in the charter, to the commissioners named in the bill.

"The charter of the city provides that work of this description can only be done by the Common Council when a petition is signed therefor by the owners of a majority in lineal feet of the land fronting on the street within which the improvement is proposed.

"This provision, perhaps, furnishes the explanation for the effort made to procure legislation in aid of this project, instead of leaving its expediency to be determined by the people directly concerned, and who are to be taxed to pay for the work.

"I have before me a remonstrance, signed by many of the owners of lots fronting on the avenue, protesting against the bill. This, and the consideration that it is directly opposed to my ideas of home rule, constrain me to withhold my approval from the proposed legislation."

These were among the minor measures vetoed by Governor Cleveland, but the principles which they involved were vital and of fundamental importance.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Five Cent Fare Bill.—The Public Faith Must be Kept.—Text of the Famous Veto Message.—How it Affected the People.—The Veto Upheld.—A Brave and Just Act.—Honorable Men Thank the Governor for Upholding the Honor of the State.

Perhaps the most widely known of the veto messages of Governor Cleveland's first year was that which he sent in with what was known as the five cent fare bill.

The elevated railroads of New York city, under their charters, charged an uniform rate of fare of five cents during certain of the morning and evening hours in which the great body of workingmen went to and from their homes, and ten cents for the rest of the day. In 1883 the Legislature passed a bill to make the rate of fare five cents throughout the day. This bill the governor vetoed, upon the ground that it involved a breach of faith on the part of the State.

His principle was, "The public faith must be kept;" and to keep faith in this case was to maintain the promise of the general railroad law, which guaranteed that the Legislature would not reduce the rates of fare on any railroad if thereby the profits should fall below ten per cent. upon the actual capital. The governor held that the earnings of these roads were not such as to permit a reduction of fare without violating the promise given by the State. There were other considerations of a similar nature, which are stated in the veto; and this message, having a peculiar interest on ac-

count of its wide notoriety, is on that account given here in full, as follows :

“STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

“ALBANY, March 2; 1883.

“*To the Assembly* : Assembly bill No. 58, entitled ‘An act to regulate the fare to be charged and collected by persons or corporations operating elevated railroads in the city of New York,’ is herewith returned without approval.

“This bill prohibits the collection or receipt of more than five cents fare on any elevated railroad in the city of New York, for any distance between the Battery and Harlem river, and provides that if any person or corporation operating such elevated railroads shall charge, demand, collect or receive any higher rate of fare, such person or corporation shall, in addition to all other penalties imposed by law, forfeit and pay to any person aggrieved fifty dollars for each offense, to be recovered by such person in any court of competent jurisdiction.

“The importance of this measure, and the interest which it has excited, has impressed me with my responsibility, and led me to examine, with as much care as has been possible, the considerations involved.

“I am convinced that in all cases the share which falls upon the executive regarding the legislation of the State should be in no manner evaded, but fairly met by the expression of his carefully guarded and unbiased judgment. In his conclusion he may err, but, if he has fairly and honestly acted, he has performed his duty, and given to the people of the State his best endeavor.

“The elevated railroads in the city of New York are now operated by the Manhattan Railway Company, as the lessee of the New York Elevated Railway Company and the Metropolitan Elevated Railway Company.

“Of course, whatever rights the lessor companies have

in relation to the running and operation of their respective roads passed to the Manhattan Company under its lease.

"The New York Elevated Railway Company is the successor of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company. The latter company was formed under and in pursuance of an act passed on the twentieth day of April, 1866.

"The third section of that act provides that companies formed under its provisions 'may fix and collect rates of fare on their respective roads, not exceeding five cents for each mile or any fraction of a mile for each passenger, and with right to a minimum fare of ten cents.'

"On the twenty-second day of April, 1867, an act was passed in relation to this corporation, which provides for the manner of constructing its road, the eighth section of which act reads as follows :

" 'The said company shall be authorized to demand and receive from each passenger within the limits of the city of New York rates of fare not exceeding, for any distance less than two miles, five cents ; for every mile or fractional part of a mile in addition thereto, one cent. Provided that when said railway is completed and in operation between Battery place and the vicinity of Harlem river, the said company may, at its option, adopt a uniform rate not exceeding ten cents for all distances upon Manhattan Island, and may also collect said last-named rate for a period of five years from and after the passage of this act.'

"It was further provided by section nine of this act that the said company should pay a sum not exceeding five per cent. of the net income of said railway from passenger traffic upon Manhattan Island, into the treasury of the city of New York, in such manner as the Legislature might thereafter direct, as a compensation for the use of the streets of the city.

"In 1868 a law was passed supplementary to the act last referred to, by which the said company was authorized to adopt such form of motor as certain commissioners should, after due experiment, recommend or approve.

"Specific provision was made in the act to carry out section nine of the law of 1867, in relation to the payment of the five per cent. of the net income of the company into the treasury of the city.

"Section three of this act contains the following provision: 'It shall be the duty of the constructing company aforesaid, before opening its railway to public use, to file with the comptroller of the city of New York, in form to be approved by the mayor of the city of New York, its bond in the penal sum of \$100,000, conditioned upon the true and faithful payment of the revenue in amount and manner specified in the preceding section, and the payment thereof shall be the legal compensation in full for the use and occupancy of the streets by said railway as provided by law, and shall constitute an agreement in the nature of a contract between said city and the constructing company entitling the latter or its successors to the privileges and rates of fare heretofore or herein legalized, which shall not be changed without the mutual consent of the parties thereto as aforesaid; and the mayor, on behalf of said city may, in case of default in payments as aforesaid, sue for and collect at law any arrearages in such payment, and the claims of the city therefor shall constitute a lien on the railway of said company, having priority over all others.'

"The use of what are called dummy engines was afterwards authorized in the operation of said road by the commissioners above referred to.

"The New York Elevated Railroad Company was organized under the general railroad law passed in 1850, and the laws amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto.

“Within a short time thereafter the last-named company became the purchaser under a foreclosure, and by other transfers of the railway and all the rights, privileges, easements and franchises of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company (the name of which had in the mean time been changed to the West Side Elevated Patented Railway Company of New York city).

“We have now reached a point where the New York Elevated Railway Company, one of the lessors of the Manhattan Railroad Company, has succeeded to all the rights and property of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company.

“By a law passed on the 17th day of June, 1875 (the railway still being unfinished), it is declared that the New York Elevated Railroad Company having acquired by purchase under mortgage foreclosure and sale and other transfer, all the rights, powers, privileges and franchises which were conferred upon the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company by the acts above referred to, is ‘hereby confirmed in the possession and enjoyments of the said rights, powers, privileges and franchises as fully and at large as they were so granted in and by the acts aforesaid to the said West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company.’

“The Court of Appeals, speaking of this law, uses the following language :

“‘The effect of this act was to secure to the Elevated Railroad Company all the rights, privileges and franchises of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company under the purchase by and transfer to it.’

“By the sixth section of this act, it is provided that the New York Elevated Railroad Company might demand and receive from each passenger on its railroad, not exceeding ten cents for any distance of five miles or less, and with the assent required by section 3 of the act of 1868, hereinbefore

referred to, not exceeding two cents for each additional mile or fractional part thereof.

“Another act was passed in 1875, commonly called the rapid transit act, which provided for the appointment of commissioners, who, among other things, were authorized to fix and determine the time within which roads subject to the provision of the act should be completed, together with the maximum rates to be paid for transportation and conveyance over said railways, and the hours during which special cars should be run at reduced rates of fare.

“Commissioners were duly appointed by the mayor of the city of New York, as provided by this act, who fixed and determined the route of the road of the New York Elevated Railroad Company, and prescribed with the utmost particularity the manner of its construction, and thereupon deliberately agreed with said company that it should charge as fare upon trains and cars other than what were called by the parties commission trains and cars, for all distances under five miles not to exceed ten cents, and not to exceed two cents for each mile or fraction of a mile over five miles, until the fare should amount to not exceeding fifteen cents for a through passenger from and between the Battery and intersection of Third avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street, and from and between the Battery and High Bridge not to exceed seventeen cents for a through passenger, and that for the entire distance from and between the Battery and Fifty-ninth street the fare should not exceed ten cents per passenger.

“It was further agreed between the said company and the commissioners that commission trains should be run during certain hours in the morning and evening for the accommodation of the public and the laboring classes, upon which the fare should not exceed five cents from and between the Battery and Fifty-ninth street, nor any greater sum for any

distance not exceeding five miles ; that it should not exceed seven cents for a through passenger from and between the Battery, or any point south thereof, and the Harlem river, and that such fare should not exceed eight cents on such commission cars and trains from and between the Battery and High Bridge.

“And it was further agreed by said company that when the net income of the road, after all expenditures, taxes and charges are paid, should amount to a sum sufficient to pay exceeding ten per cent. per annum on the capital stock of the company, that in such case and within six months thereafter, and so long as said net earnings amount to a sum sufficient to pay more than ten per cent. as aforesaid, the said company would run commission trains on its road at all hours during which it should be operated, at the rates of fare last mentioned.

“Having thus completed an agreement with this company, the commissioners transmitted the same to the mayor of the city of New York, accompanied by a very congratulatory report of their proceedings, whereupon the mayor submitted the same to the Board of Aldermen, by whom it was approved. This was in the latter part of 1875.

“Since that time the New York Elevated Railroad Company, upon the faith of the laws which have been recited, and its proceedings with the commissioners, at a very large expense, has completed its road from the Battery to Harlem river, a distance of about ten miles.

“The bill before me provides that notwithstanding all the statutes that have been passed and all that has been done thereunder, passengers shall be carried the whole length of this road for five cents, a sum much less than is provided for in any of such statutes or stipulated in the proceedings of the commissioners.

“I am of the opinion that in the legislation and proceed-

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ings which I have detailed, and in the fact that thereto the road of the company was constructed, there exists a contract in favor of this United States which prohibits the passage of a law State impairing the obligation of contracts.

"But let it be supposed that of this is not so, and that these lessor companies are all of in any way protected of these lessor companies are all of in any way protected interference with their rates are all of in any way protected railroad act, under which all of in any way protected

"Section thirty-three of the said act reads as follows: 'Legislature may, when any that are both organized use, from time to time alter such road as follows: 'fare or other profits upon the said road shall be produce with said profits less than ten per centum on the capital acts and received; nor shall the state engineer and received; nor shall ascertain that the net income of the company from all sources in the year ended, to exceed an annual act of ten per cent. upon the of the corporation in the year ended, to exceed an annual act of ten per cent. upon the

"Even if the State has promised that after these certain circumstances these roads, it has promised that after these certain circumstances

"I am not satisfied that no such examination has been made. The constitutional objection which I have suggested is in the bill under consideration, and I think, an alteration of the proposed legislation is in the companies,

this is permitted by the State Constitution and by the provisions of some of the laws to which I have referred.

"I suppose that while the charters of corporations may be altered or repealed, it must be done in subordination to the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land. This leads to the conclusion that the alteration of a charter cannot be made the pretext for the passage of a law which impairs the obligation of a contract.

"If I am mistaken in supposing that there are legal objections to this bill, there is another consideration which furnishes to my mind a sufficient reason why I should not give it my approval.

"It seems to me that to arbitrarily reduce these fares, at this time and under existing circumstances, involves a breach of faith on the part of the State, and a betrayal of confidence which the State has invited.

"The fact is notorious that for many years rapid transit was the great need of the inhabitants of the city of New York, and was of direct importance to the citizens of the State. Projects which promised to answer the people's wants in this direction failed and were abandoned. The Legislature, appreciating the situation, willingly passed statute after statute, calculated to aid and encourage a solution of the problem. Capital was timid, and hesitated to enter a new field full of risks and dangers. By the promise of liberal fares, as will be seen in all the acts passed on the subject, and through other concessions gladly made, capitalists were induced to invest their money in the enterprise, and rapid transit but lately became an accomplished fact. But much of the risk, expense and burden attending the maintenance of these roads are yet unknown and threatening. In the mean time, the people of the city of New York are receiving the full benefit of their construction, a great enhancement of the value of the taxable property of the city has

resulted, and in addition to taxes, more than \$120,000, being five per cent. in increase, pursuant to the law of 1868, has been paid by the companies into the city treasury, on the faith that the rate of fare agreed upon was secured to them. I am not aware that the corporations have, by any default, forfeited any of their rights; and if they have, the remedy is at hand under existing laws. Their stock and their bonds are held by a large number of citizens, and the income of these roads depends entirely upon fares received from passengers. The reduction proposed is a large one, and it is claimed will permit no dividends to investors. This may not be true, but we should be satisfied it is not, before the proposed law takes effect.

"It is manifestly important that invested capital should be protected, and that its necessity and usefulness in the development of enterprises valuable to the people should be recognized by conservative conduct on the part of the State government.

"But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just, but scrupulously fair, and in its relation to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This can only be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience.

"I am not unmindful of the fact that this bill originated in the response to the demand of a large portion of the people of New York for cheaper rates of fare between their places of employment and their homes, and I realize fully the desirability of securing to them all the privileges possible, but the experience of other States teaches that we must keep within the limits of law and good faith, lest in the end

we bring upon the very people whom we seek to benefit and protect, a hardship which must surely follow when these limits are ignored.

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It is not strange that the opponents of Governor Cleveland seized upon this veto as a pretext for accusing him of having no care for the interests of the poor, who could not afford to pay ten cents for a ride on the elevated roads. Every sensible man understands that this is the nonsense of demagogues, since laws and contracts must be maintained, whoever suffers, until such time as the laws are changed and the contracts satisfied. But what were really the facts in the case? Simply these: that the working people enjoy five cent fares on these roads during the hours when they use them, that is to say, from 5.30 to 8.30 o'clock in the morning, and from 4.30 to 7.30 o'clock in the evening. No laboring man goes to his work or comes from his work at any other hours. The working men, then, had practically five cent fares already. The people who would have been benefited by this bill, had Governor Cleveland allowed it to become a law, would have been the bankers and brokers who come down town at nine or ten o'clock in the forenoon and go back to dinner about three o'clock in the afternoon. If the bill was intended to save money for any one, it would be for those who could best afford to pay.

Furthermore, it appeared subsequently, on investigation by the railroad commissioners, that Governor Cleveland was right in his statement concerning the percentage of profit upon the capital stock, and that the reduction could not have been made without breaking the pledge of the State.

But Governor Cleveland did not look to the benefit or disadvantage that might follow his acts when he conscientiously believed them to be right. In such a case he did what

was right without regard to consequences. And he was sustained in it by public sentiment.

Among the letters of commendation and approval which poured in upon the governor from every part of the State, was one from Rev. Dr. Martin B. Anderson, the president of Rochester University, in which he said :

"I cannot, in justice to my convictions, refrain from expressing my gratitude for your veto message, which I have just read. I have no personal interest in any of the great corporations which were directly or indirectly affected by the bill from which you have so wisely withheld your approval. But the just and statesmanlike positions taken in your message seem to me a most fitting rebuke to the demagogism which is ready to trifle with those sacred rights of property guaranteed by our State and National constitutions. In these safeguards of property the poor man has a more vital interest than the capitalist, for they make secure the poor man's savings, which constitute his only means of support. I have taken occasion to commend your message to the careful consideration of my students as an exhibition of the principles which should govern their actions should they be called to fill public station in their future lives. I trust you will pardon me for obtruding myself upon your attention. As a teacher of young men, I feel grateful to any public functionary who illustrates in his person the lessons which I am so anxious to impress upon their minds."

President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, wrote to a friend :

"I am coming to have a very great respect and admiration for our new governor. His course on the elevated railroad bill first commended him to me. Personally, I should have been glad to have seen that company receive a slap. But the method of administering it seemed to me very in-

sidious and even dangerous, and glad was I to see that the governor rose above all the noise and clap-trap which was raised about the question, went to the fundamental point of the matter and vetoed the bill. I think his course at that time gained the respect of every thinking man in the State."

CHAPTER XXVI.

The People and the Corporations.—The Rights of the Former to be Protected.—The Aggressions of the Latter to be Restrained.—Governor Cleveland's Position Defined.—Several Notable Veto Messages.

In maintaining the rights of the public against the encroachment of corporations, Governor Cleveland was as strong and unfaltering as when, against the clamor of demagogues, he insisted that the public faith must be kept with corporations. And it may be stated in passing, that in the former case of his veto of the five cent fare bill, he was sustained by a majority vote of the assembly. On the other side was his veto of a bill looking to an increase of the powers of telegraph companies to use the public streets. In this message he said :

“The amendment first proposed by this bill provides that corporations formed for the purpose of manufacturing and using electricity for producing light, heat or power, shall not be confined in their operations to the county in which their certificate shall be filed.

“This bill further authorizes said corporations to lay, erect and construct the necessary conductors and fixtures for transmitting and supplying electricity over or under any public road, street or highway, or waters of the State, with the consent of certain local authorities. It also provides for the laying and construction of such conductors and fixtures, by such corporations, under or over private lands, subject

to the rights of the owner to full compensation, which, if it cannot be agreed upon by the owner and said corporation, shall be fixed by commissioners to be appointed by the county court.

"The transmission of electricity by means of wires stretched upon poles, has up to this time been confined to telegraphic and lighting purposes. And this has been regarded as dangerous and objectionable, at least, so far as these wires and poles run within the cities of the State.

"A bill is now pending in the Legislature based upon this report, providing that all telegraphic, telephonic and electric light wires and cables in incorporated cities having a population of five hundred thousand or upwards, shall, after the passage of this bill, be laid under the surface of the streets, and for the removal of existing wires and the poles sustaining the same.

"The report and the bill above referred to, contemplate only the ordinary wires and poles used for telegraphic, telephonic and electric light purposes.

"But the bill under consideration permits not only such wires to be placed above the surface and in the streets, but also conductors and fixtures for transmitting such currents of electricity as may be necessary to produce heat or power. We have no hint in the bill what these conductors and fixtures may be, but it is entirely evident that they cannot be less dangerous and objectionable than the wires and poles now in use and characterized by the Senate committee as nuisances.

"I am convinced that the safety and convenience of the people demand that the conductors and fixtures of the corporations mentioned in this bill should not be permitted upon or over the public streets.

"Another fatal objection to this bill is found in the provision allowing the corporations therein named to enter

upon private property, and erect and maintain their structures thereon, without the consent of the owner. It seems to me that this is taking private property, or an easement therein, with very little pretext that it is for a public use.

"If a private corporation can, under authority of law, construct its appliances and structures upon the lands of the citizen without his consent, not only for the purpose of furnishing light, but in an experimental attempt to transmit heat and power, the rights of the people may well be regarded as in danger from an undue license to corporate aggrandizement."

There was another case in which he had occasion to declare the same principle. This was that of a bill to extend the time for the full payment of the capital stock of the Utica Ice Company. In returning this bill without his signature, he said :

"Our laws in relation to the formation of corporations are extremely liberal, and those who avail themselves of their provisions should be held to a strict compliance with their requirements. There is manifestly no propriety in the passage of a special act to relieve a private corporation and its stockholders, as proposed in this bill. If the capital already paid in is sufficient for its purpose, it may, I think, reduce its stock under section fifteen of the act. In any event, the failure to pay in the stock within the time limited, only subjects the company to be proceeded against and dissolved after a judgment obtained against it, and renders the stockholders, until such payment, liable for all the debts of the corporation.

"This company, and its stockholders, have assumed for their own benefit certain relations to the State, to the public, and to their creditors ; and these relations should not be disturbed.

"If corporations are to be relieved from their defaults for the asking, their liability to the people with whom they deal will soon become dangerously uncertain and indefinite."

Thus it was that Governor Cleveland, in his official acts, fulfilled the promise and maintained the principles of his letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination in 1882, in which he said :

"Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere they should be protected ; but when, by combination, or by the exercise of unwarranted power, they oppress the people, the same authority which created should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizen. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations, should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects, and with a due regard for the interests involved.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Buffalo Fire Bill. — A Political Measure Vetoed. — Business Principles Must Override Partisanship. — Governor Cleveland's Prompt Action. — Non-Partisanship in Appointments. — The Commissioner of Emigration. — A Special Message. — Other Appointments. — Governor Cleveland a Staunch Democrat.

In April, 1883, Governor Cleveland was presented a bill which had passed both branches of the State Legislature, providing for the reorganization of the fire department of the city of Buffalo. The bill was purely and simply a partisan move to get control of the department for political purposes, and as such it met with instant condemnation at the hands of Governor Cleveland. It did not matter to him that the proposed reorganization would have been a partisan benefit to the Democracy. The principle was wrong, and its operation in this case would have been detrimental to the efficiency of a department in whose care the safety of the property of the citizens of Buffalo was largely placed.

The bill proposed to do away with the existing fire commission, to divide the city into fire districts with chiefs over each, and to appoint anew all employés, from chiefs to hose-carriage drivers. It will be seen that the plan created a vast amount of patronage, and placed its distribution at once in the hands of the existing administration; and this was, beyond a doubt, the purpose of the measure. Governor Cleveland interposed his veto with emphasis and promptness. The bill was presented to him on a Friday. On the

Monday following—that is, the next legislative day—he sent the bill back, with the following veto message :

“STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

“ALBANY, April 9, 1883.

“*To the Assembly:* Assembly bill No. 253, entitled ‘An act to amend chapter five hundred and nineteen of the laws of 1870, entitled “An act to amend the charter of the city of Buffalo,”’ passed April 28th, 1870, is herewith returned without approval.

“The object of this bill is to entirely reorganize the fire department of the city of Buffalo.

“The present department was established in 1880, under chapter two hundred and seventy-one of the laws of that year, and its management and control are vested in three commissioners, who, pursuant to said law, were appointed by the mayor of the city.

“The gentlemen thus appointed are citizens of unquestioned probity, intelligence and executive ability, and enjoy and deserve the respect and confidence of all their fellow-townsmen.

“Having very recently had official relations with this department, I cannot but testify to its efficiency and good management, and the economy with which its affairs are conducted. And yet, before it has been three years in operation, it is proposed, by the bill under consideration, to uproot and sweep away the present administration of this important department, and venture upon another experiment. This new scheme provides for the appointment, by the mayor, on the first Monday in May, 1883, of a chief of the fire department, one assistant chief and two district chiefs; the city is divided into two fire districts, and it is made the duty of the district chiefs to take the charge and management of all fires in their respective districts until the arrival of the chief or assistant chiefs.

"I can see no reason for dividing, by law, the city into fire districts, unless it be to make new places to be filled by the city executive.

"The provision that the district chief shall have charge and management of a fire in his district, until the arrival of his superior, gives excuse for the chief of another district, though first on the ground, to refrain from interference.

"A fire department should be organized with a view to prompt and effective action upon a sudden emergency. Every member of the department should be, at all times, ready for service, and there should be no mischief invited, by rules too inflexible, as to who should have charge and management in time of danger to life and property.

"Although the mayor of the city, under the provisions of the bill, has the absolute power of appointment to these offices, he may, in case of vacancy by death, resignation, removal or otherwise, make special appointments, until permanent appointments are made. This was evidently copied from the charter of 1870, which allowed the mayor to appoint fire superintendents, by and with the advice and consent of the Common Council. It was intended to permit the filling of a vacancy by the mayor during the time which should elapse before a successor could be confirmed by the Council. But in a case where no confirmation is necessary, such a provision is needless, incongruous and mischievous. The mayor should be as well prepared to make a permanent appointment under this bill, in case of a vacancy, as a temporary one. This provision would seem to give him the power by calling an appointment a temporary one, to retain the appointee as long as he sees fit, and, under the pretext of a permanent appointment, displace him by another, without charges or an opportunity to be heard.

"By section six of the bill an appeal is permitted from

the decision of the mayor upon the trial of any of these officers, to the Supreme Court of Buffalo. There is no such court in existence.

"But waiving further criticism of details, my attention is directed to section twenty of the bill, which, to the promoters of this measure, is undoubtedly its most important feature. It provides that immediately upon the appointment and qualification of the chief, the terms of the present commissioners shall cease and determine, and that the terms of office of all the other officers, firemen and employés shall also cease and determine, ten days thereafter. Great care is exercised to provide that the chiefs and all the firemen and employés appointed under the new scheme shall be discharged only for cause, and after due hearing and an opportunity for defense; but to those now in the service, numbering about two hundred drilled and experienced men, no such privileges are accorded.

"The purpose of the bill is too apparent to be mistaken. A tried, economical and efficient administration of an important department in a large city is to be destroyed, upon partisan grounds or to satisfy personal animosities, in order that the places and patronage attached thereto may be used for party advancement.

"I believe in an open and sturdy partisanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partisan, which will sacrifice or endanger their interests.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Absolute nonpartisanship marked all of Governor Cleveland's acts. As was shown in his veto of the Buffalo Fire bill, he utterly refused to permit politics to interfere with what he considered the proper conduct of the public busi-

ness. In all his appointments to office, and in all his supervision of the departments of government, he maintained the same principle in its purity. In fact, the opposition which developed against him without result at the Chicago Convention, was largely due to a contest which he had with the Senate on the appointment of a commissioner of emigration, and in which he was beaten with the aid of Republican votes. He sent in a special message on this matter, which is of sufficient interest, as showing his sentiments on the subject, to be given entire :

“STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

“ALBANY, May 4, 1883.

“*To the Senate:* I deem it my duty to remind you of the importance of giving effect to the law lately passed by the Legislature ‘to amend the law relating to alien emigrants, and to secure an improved administration of alien emigration.’

“This statute was the result of investigation which demonstrated that the present management of this very important department is a scandal and a reproach to civilization. The money of the State is apparently expended with no regard to economy, the most disgraceful dissensions prevail among those having the matter in charge, barefaced jobbery has been permitted, and the poor emigrant who looks to the institution for protection, finds that his helplessness and forlorn condition afford the readily seized opportunity for imposition and swindling.

“These facts lift the efforts to reform the management above partisan considerations, and make the cause one in which every right-minded man should be enlisted, and one in which those chosen to protect the rights and the honor of the people of the State should gladly co-operate.

“The law lately passed, it is admitted, seeks in a practical way to remedy the evils referred to.

"In the enforcement of this law, it became my duty to send to the Senate, for its confirmation, the name of a person who should act as commissioner, and who should have charge of the important matters provided for.

"This I have done. In the discharge of this duty I was fortunate enough to be able to present the name of a citizen of the State, of conceded integrity, ability and administrative capacity, who enjoys the respect and esteem of all who know him, and whose benevolent nature would insure the protection and kind care of the destitute and friendless strangers who should be put in his charge.

"But the unmistakable indications are that in its closing hours the Senate will refuse to confirm his appointment and thus continue the present scandals and abuses.

"Some of those now in charge of this department and their beneficiaries are on the ground and about the halls of legislation, seeking to retain their control and their abused advantages.

"The refusal to confirm the appointee is not based upon any allegation of unfitness, nor has such a thing been suggested. It concededly and openly, as I understand the situation, has its rise in an overwhelming greed for the patronage which may attach to the place, and which will not be promised in advance, and in questionable partisanship, which is insisted on, at the expense of important interests.

"There has not been a reason suggested why the name of the appointee should be withdrawn, and I should be unjust and derelict in my duty if I should pursue that course. The Senate is reminded, too, that the present situation of affairs precludes my submitting another name if I desired.

"I am profoundly sensible of the absolute power and right of the Senate in the premises, and do not seek to question it even in this case. Every member knows the motives for his conduct, and must justify them to his constituents.

"The fact remains, however, that a captious opposition to the execution of the best remedial law of the present session of the Legislature perpetuates the oppression of the emigrant and the practice of unblushing speculation. I have endeavored to co-operate with the Senate in supplementing the passage of the law, by putting the machinery in motion for its execution ; and I may, perhaps, be allowed to express the hope that its operation may not be defeated. If it is, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

In all appointments to office, Governor Cleveland maintained the principle that fitness should be the test, apart from consideration of the demands of factions of any political party.

Thus James Shanahan, a great portion of whose life had been spent in connection with the management of the canal system of the State, and whose familiarity with its needs and requirements was exceeded by no one, was appointed to be superintendent of public works. Others had more powerful political influences behind them, but this man's eminent qualifications for the work before him weighed against everything else, so he was appointed.

The department of insurance was another most important place, and very desirable in the eyes of many. The pressure was great. But, in the office of the department was one who had been virtually the head for years. This was the deputy superintendent, John A. McCall, who had entered the office as a boy, and, familiarizing himself with every branch and step of the business, had at last become a necessity to the office. Governor Cleveland would not have been Grover Cleveland, knowing these facts, if he had not appointed John A. McCall, Jr. So Mr. McCall became the superintendent of insurance.

When the railroad commission was to be appointed, he found that, under the law, certain commercial bodies of New York city could suggest one for appointment, and that it was further provided that one should be a Democrat, and one a Republican, one of whom should be a man acquainted with the railroad business. On examination of the law, the field the new board was to occupy, the duties it would be called upon to perform, and the profound legal questions it would be compelled to meet, showed conclusively that there must be a lawyer upon the board. The commercial boards did not assist the governor, for the person named by them was neither a Democrat, a Republican, one acquainted with the railroad business, nor a lawyer. The gentleman he did appoint as a Republican was one acquainted with the railroad business, and that was Mr. William E. Rogers, and in doing this he secured to the board the services of a superior civil engineer as well, for Mr. Rogers is a graduate of West Point, and holds the certificate of a civil engineer. Consequently the Democratic member of the board necessarily had to be a lawyer, and this was John D. Kernan, a son of Francis Kernan, who had won a leading place at the bar of Central New York, a bar held in high repute for the number of great men it has given to the State. Thus it was, under a law, the limitations of which were most unwise, the governor in two men, while obeying the law in every particular, gave to the board of railroad commissioners one acquainted with the railroad business, a civil engineer and a lawyer. The result has justified the selections of the governor.

When he selected Mr. Isaac G. Perry, to be Capitol commissioner, he gave to the State a man of practical knowledge and extraordinary efficiency. The Capitol, the work upon which had become a by-word and a reproach, seemed to take a leap forward at once, and the visitors to the Capi-

tol could see it fairly grow under his hands. More was accomplished in a few months, with the same amount of money, than had ever been known before. A factious Republican opposition fearing the effect of this reform upon the people, undertook to counteract its effect by an inquisitorial investigation, the results of which were, in fact, but to show in brighter colors, the wonderful work accomplished, and the committee of investigation was fairly shamed into commending the labor performed, and indorsing the administration of this department, and all the more as their factious opposition had interfered with the progress of the work, and laid an additional burden of \$500,000 at least upon the people, while robbing 1,200 laboring men of six months' work.

Of a like character was the appointment of Mr. Charles B. Andrews, to be superintendent of public buildings. This also was an eminently characteristic appointment, based, more than anything else, upon the governor's own knowledge of the fitness of the man for the place. In this, as in all other cases, the result has justified the selection.

And with all this liberality of thought and action, Governor Cleveland never wavered in his Democracy. He was, indeed, only illustrating the principles of Democracy in a clearer and better way than they had before been shown. In his address before the Manhattan Club of New York, on the occasion of a reception given him in that city, he said:

"You who lead, and those who follow, should all strive to commend to the people in this, the time of our opportunity, not an administration alone, but a party which shall appear adequate to their wants and useful to their purposes. The time-honored doctrines of the Democratic party are dear to me. If honestly applied in their purity I know the affairs of the government would be faithfully and honestly administered, and I believe that all the wants and needs of

the people would be met. They have survived all changes, and good and patriotic men have clung to them through all disasters as the hope of political salvation. Let us hold them as a sacred trust, and let us not forget that an intelligent, reading, thinking people will look to the party which they put in power to supply all their various needs and wants, and the party which keeps pace with the development and progress of the time, which keeps in sight its landmarks and yet observes those things which are in advance, and which will continue true to the people as well as to its traditions, will be the dominant party of the future."

It has been well said of Grover Cleveland that "his firm maintenance of the cardinal principles of Democracy—simplicity of personal and official life; ready and free access for the people; untiring industry and vigilant fidelity in the discharge of public duty; rigid economy in the expenditure of public funds; strict construction of the powers of public servants and stern enforcement of the requirements upon them; publicity and purity of official action; fearless discharge of duty as seen by himself, and inability to substitute the suggestions of others, not elected to office, for the judgment which he was chosen to exercise, stamp him as a Democrat in principle, vigorous, courageous, and stalwart. But in the exercise of this just preference for his own party, he has ever been regardful of the truth that the party is most useful, most prosperous, and most harmonious, which most nearly satisfies the wants and promotes the welfare of the whole people."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A Humane Execution.—The Treatment of Convicts.—Letter to the Superintendent of Prisons.—Commutation for Good Conduct.—Governor Cleveland's Exercise of the Pardoning Power.—A Wise Clemency.—Statement of Reasons.

Reform in the matter of the treatment of prisoners was one of the earliest efforts of Governor Cleveland's administration. His first official paper, after his inaugural message, was a communication to the superintendent of prisons (an official appointed by his predecessor), informing him that the statutes relating to the infliction of corporal punishment must be observed in spirit as well as in letter. This communication was as follows :

“STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

“ALBANY, February 2, 1883.

“HON. ISAAC V. BAKER, Jr., Superintendent of State Prisons. Dear Sir: I deem it proper to call your attention to the provisions of section 108 of chapter 460 of the laws of 1847, which prohibits the infliction of blows upon any convict in the State prisons, by the keepers thereof, except in self-defense or to suppress a revolt or insurrection; and also to chapter 869 of the laws of 1869, abolishing the punishment commonly known as the shower-bath, crucifix or yoke, and buck. I suppose these latter forms of punishment were devised to take the place of the blows prohibited by the law of 1847.

“Both of the statutes above referred to seem to be still in

force, and, in my opinion, they are in no manner affected by the constitutional amendment giving the superintendent 'the superintendence, management and control of the prisons,' nor by sections 1 and 5 of chapter 107 of the laws of 1877, providing that the superintendent shall have the management and control of the prisons and of the convicts therein, and of all matters relating to the government, discipline, police, contracts and fiscal concerns thereof, and that he shall make such rules and regulations for the government and punishment of the convicts as he may deem proper.

"I especially desire to avoid any injurious interference with the maintenance by the prison authorities of efficient discipline; but I insist that, in the treatment of prisoners convicted of crime, the existing statutes of the State on that subject should be observed.

"Yours respectfully,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

While thus insisting that brutal punishments must be abolished in the State prisons, Governor Cleveland also instituted reforms in relation to the commutation of sentences of convicts by reason of good conduct. Under the statutes, a prisoner for good conduct is allowed a remission or commutation of two months for each of the first two years, four months for the third and fourth, and five months for each subsequent year. The question of the aggregating of sentences in the allowance for good conduct was settled in the affirmative early in the administration of Governor Cleveland. The governor also decided that all prisoners confined in the prisons or penitentiaries having an aggregate sentence of one year or over, could earn commutation whether under conviction of felony or other crimes or misdemeanors.

In his second year, Gov. Cleveland pursued this reform to a very important conclusion. Although anticipating the

course of the narrative of his official life, it is proper to introduce here the following extract from Governor Cleveland's message to the Legislature of 1884 :

"Of the number above mentioned, 507 (the 15,000 men, women and children confined in the prisons, houses of refuge, penitentiaries, reformatories, jails and protectories,) were confined in the State reformatory at Elmira, upon conviction of felonies. Such convicts are required to be between the ages of sixteen and thirty years. No term of imprisonment is fixed by the sentence, but they cannot be detained longer than the maximum time for which they might have been sent to prison. Within this limit they may be imprisoned until discharged by the rules of the institution.

"The board of managers may transfer 'temporarily' to either of the State prisons, any inmate who, subsequent to his committal to the reformatory, shall be shown to have been at the time of his conviction, more than thirty years of age, or to have been previously convicted of crime, or any apparently incorrigible prisoner whose presence in the reformatory appears to be seriously detrimental to the well being of the institution. If after such transfer he is not recalled by the managers, he must remain in State prison during the balance of the longest sentence that might have originally been imposed upon him. The law allowing a reduction of the time of imprisonment for good conduct is not applicable to his case.

"On application to the prison at Auburn, I learn that since the reformatory was established, and up to the sixth day of December, 1883, seventy-five persons who had originally been sent to the reformatory were transferred under the conditions above stated to the Auburn State prison. Of these, fifteen have been allowed to serve in prison the longest sentence that could have been pronounced for their crime ; one was discharged by order of the managers of the reform-

atory ; one was transferred to Clinton prison ; four were transferred to the Asylum for Insane Criminals (one of whom was subsequently returned to prison) ; two died ; one was recalled to the reformatory, and fifty-two still remained in the prison. How many of these were sent to the State prison by the managers because, in their view, they were 'apparently incorrigible prisoners, whose presence in the reformatory appears to be seriously detrimental to the well being of the institution,' is not reported, but it is safe to say that a large proportion were consigned to prison on that allegation. The prisoner thus transferred, who was sentenced to the reformatory, in mercy, to avoid the stigma of a sentence to prison, and for purposes of reform, because he had maintained theretofore a good reputation and standing in society, may meet at the door of the prison his accomplice in the crime committed, who having made no pretense of character or respectability, has served the sentence to prison pronounced upon him by the court. The worst and most hardened criminals, if originally sent to prison, earn, by good conduct, a considerable reduction of imprisonment, but the convict from the reformatory has no such thing to hope or strive for. In my opinion, there should be no power vested in the board of managers of this institution to send persons committed to their care to the State prisons ; and if convicts are sentenced to the reformatory, the courts should exercise the greatest care to be satisfied that they are promising subjects for reformatory efforts, and fix a term beyond which they cannot be confined. A release before the time thus fixed might well be offered as a reward for improvement, reform or good conduct.

"The law in relation to the reduction for good behavior of the terms of convicts in State prison should be made more plain and definite, and the power of the prison authorities to refuse such reduction be more exactly defined."

Following this message by a few months, Governor Cleveland ordered the discharge of six prisoners known as "Reformatory transfers," adjudging them to be entitled under the statutes to commutation for good conduct; and in performing this act of justice and clemency he stated the following reasons:

"These convicts having been originally sentenced to the New York State reformatory, no limit was fixed by the courts to the term of their imprisonment. But by the provisions of the statute relating to this institution, such convicts may be discharged by the managers, under certain conditions; and, in case the discretion thus vested in the managers is not exercised, convicts committed to the reformatory may be imprisoned therein for the longest term provided by law as a punishment for the offense of which they were convicted.

"Of course, the intention of the law was that persons convicted of crime, whose youth, or freedom from criminal habits and associations, gave promise of reformation, should not be classed and kept with old and hardened criminals, but should be committed to the reformatory, where they might receive instruction and encouragement, and that their discharge within the limit which the law had fixed for their crime should be dependent upon the progress they made towards reformation.

"But it is also provided that the managers of this institution may, in certain cases, transfer prisoners to a State prison, where, unless they are recalled to the reformatory, they are kept the balance of the longest term for which they might have been sentenced to prison.

"This I consider entirely wrong. If a convict is to be confined in a State prison, the criminal courts should fix his term; and the discretion which may be, in such cases, exer-

cised by the courts, should not be abridged nor vested in the managers of the reformatory.

“And, to add to this injustice and this anomalous method of administering the criminal law, it has thus far been held, I believe, that the provisions of the statute relating to reduction of a prisoner’s term for good conduct, does not apply to such convicts as are transferred from the reformatory to the prisons.

“The result is that an old offender, of previous bad character, is frequently sent to prison by the court for a term much less than the longest time allowed by law, and through good conduct in prison, can earn considerable commutation of his sentence; while a young man, convicted of his first offense, with good character and respectable surroundings, sent by the court to the reformatory for imprisonment and reform, may be doomed by the managers of this institution to finish the longest term which his offense permits, in the State prison, with no commutation for the most exemplary conduct.

“The least that should be done for convicts transferred under the present law from the reformatory to prison is to allow them for good conduct in prison the same commutation on the remainder of the term for which they might be confined, dating from the day of their transfer, that they would be entitled to if that was the beginning of an original sentence to prison. I think the statute in relation to commutations for good conduct in prison permits this. If it does not it ought to, and I am glad that I have the power, in any event, to rectify such wrongs, by the interposition of a special commutation.

“The conduct of the six convicts above mentioned so transferred from the New York State reformatory to Auburn prison is reported by the warden of the latter institution to be good.

"Making the deductions from their terms, which I believe them to have earned, all are now entitled to be discharged except two, whose terms, under the rule adopted, will respectively expire on the sixth and eighth days of the present month.

"I cannot now do what I regard full justice to all these convicts, but I have determined to approximate it as nearly as possible by commuting their terms to the eighth day of March, 1884, which is probably as early as the necessary documents can be perfected and forwarded."

In the matter of pardons, Governor Cleveland made a judicious and careful use of the power vested in him as executive. He established the practice of sending in with each pardon, at the time of granting it, a statement of the reasons governing him in granting the same; and this, by making each act more prominent, produced the impression that an unusual number of pardons were granted. The fact, however, is that the percentage of pardons to applications has been less in Governor Cleveland's administration than in that of any of his predecessors in the office.

These statements of the grounds of pardon are very interesting. Among them is that of the pardon of a man sentenced for six months for assault on his wife.

The governor says: "This man had been imprisoned more than three months. He had a family dependent upon his earnings for support, and his wife begged for his release so that she and her children might be provided for during the coming winter. The justice who sentenced him recommended his pardon and expressed the belief that if released he would not repeat acts of violence. Out of consideration for his family and to relieve the public of their support, and in the belief that the imprisonment already suffered by him was sufficient to insure his better conduct in the future, I determined to grant him the pardon applied for."

Another, for burglary in the third degree, was pardoned for these reasons: "That it satisfactorily appeared that the prisoner had previous to this arrest for the offense charged, borne a good character, had been a hard-working mechanic, and had faithfully cared for his family to the best of his ability. That at the time of the commission of the offense he had been out of employment a considerable time, and that his wife and children were actually in a destitute condition. That the property of the complainant was restored by the prisoner. Executive clemency was strongly recommended by the district attorney who prosecuted the case for the people and by the judge who presided at the trial."

Many of the pardons of Governor Cleveland were granted because the prisoner had but a few days to live; others, because, on examination, it appeared that the sentence of the court was excessive. In all, there is seen the result of careful and conscientious inquiry on the part of the governor. In conversation with the writer, one of the leading Republicans of Buffalo remarked concerning this feature of Governor Cleveland's administration:

"The governor gives just as much time and care to the examination of the papers in an application for pardon as if he were a lawyer who was paid a \$50,000 fee for the work."

CHAPTER XXIX.

End of Governor Cleveland's First Year of Administration.—Protecting the Ballot.—His Second Annual Message.—A Remarkably Strong Document.—Taxes and Taxation.—Supervision of Banks and Insurance Companies.—The Charitable Institutions.—Civil Service Reform.—The Railroad Commission.—Review of the Reform Acts of the Year.

By his able and conscientious performance of the duties of his office, Governor Cleveland won the admiration and gratitude of the people of New York, and at the close of his first year in the executive chair he had established every claim that his friends had made in his behalf as a reform governor. His affirmative acts, no less than his vetoes, were eminently judicious, and his administration stood firmly and strongly committed to honest, impartial government.

As the time for the November election approached, some anxiety was felt and expressed concerning the faithful execution of the election laws; and for the purpose of securing, so far as his authority permitted, the protection of the ballot, Governor Cleveland issued the following proclamation, being his last official paper for the year 1883:

"The constitution of the State directs that the governor 'shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed.'

"An appeal has been made to the executive, asking that the laws relating to bribery and corruption at elections be enforced. All must acknowledge that there is nothing more important in our form of government than that the will of the people, which is absolutely the foundation upon which

our institutions rest, should be fairly expressed and honestly regarded. Without this our system is a sham and a contrivance, which it is brazen effrontery to call a Republican form of government.

"All this is recognized, in theory, by provisions in the constitution of our State, and by stringent penal enactments aimed at the use of money and other corrupt means to unlawfully influence the suffrages of the people and to thwart their will. And yet I am convinced that a disregard of those enactments is frequent, and in many cases shamelessly open and impudent.

"I, therefore, call upon all district attorneys within this State, and all sheriffs and peace officers, and others having in charge the execution of the laws, to exercise the utmost diligence in the discovery and punishment of violations of the statutes referred to, and they are admonished that neglect of duty in this regard will be promptly dealt with.

"And I request that all good citizens, in the performance of a plain duty, for the protection of free institutions and in their own interests, report to the proper authorities the commission of any offense against the statutes passed to preserve the purity of the ballot.

"Done at the Capitol, in the city of Albany, this second day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three.

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

"By the Governor:

"DANIEL S. LAMONT, Private Secretary."

In his year of service, Governor Cleveland studied carefully and assiduously the details of the business of the State, and in his second annual message to the Legislature he was able, from his experience and observation, to present in more thoroughly developed form his views upon State policy

and administration. This message was a remarkable document in many respects, and its importance warrants the reproduction of its chief features in this place.

The governor opened his message as follows :

“STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

“ALBANY, January 1, 1884.

“*To the Legislature:* In transmitting a statement of the condition of the State, and recommending such matters for legislative action as are deemed expedient, I believe it to be entirely proper at the outset, to direct attention to the fact that the growth and progress of the State in every direction, and the needs of the people, call for patient and intelligent action on the part of their representative in the Legislature. Every one who has assumed any share of responsibility in this branch of the government should enter upon the discharge of his duties, fully appreciating his trust, and with an unwavering determination to faithfully serve the State.

“It is suggested that frequent and unnecessary recesses, taken during the session of the Legislature, not only result in a great waste of time, but by interruption of thought and effort, tend to loose, careless and ill-advised legislative action.

“Another evil which has a most pernicious influence on legislation, is the introduction and consideration of bills purely local in their character, affecting only special interests, and which ought not upon any pretext to be permitted to incumber the statutes of the State. Every consideration of expediency, as well as the language and evident intent of the constitution, dictate the exclusion of such matters from legislative consideration. The powers of boards of supervisors and other local authorities have been enlarged, for the express purpose of permitting them to deal intelligently and properly with such subjects. But notwithstanding this, bills are introduced authorizing the building and repairing

of bridges and highways, the erection of engine houses and soldiers' monuments, the establishment of libraries, the regulation or purchase of cemeteries, and other things of a like nature. In many cases no better excuse exists for the presentation of such bills than the dignity and force which is supposed to be gained for their object by legal enactment, the saving of expense and trouble to those interested in their purposes, and the local notoriety and popularity sought by the legislators having them in charge. Their consideration retards the business of the session and occupies time which should be devoted to better purposes. And this is not the worst result that may follow in their train. Such measures, there is ground to suspect, are frequently made the means of securing, by a promise of aid in their passage, the votes of those who introduce them, in favor of other and more vicious legislation.

"The crowding of a large amount of business into the closing hours of the session, gives opportunity in the haste and confusion which ensue, for the passage of bad and improvident laws, perhaps to the exclusion of measures of importance and value."

After reviewing the condition of the State finances, the governor considered the subject of the taxes and taxation, saying :

"Basing the estimates for the support of government on the cost of the present year, it is evident that a generous appropriation can be made for continuing work on the new Capitol, and that by reason of the increased valuation and the lessening of the canal tax, an extraordinary reduction in the tax rate can still be made for the coming year. In fact, the observance of due care in the appropriation of public funds by the present Legislature, and the exercise of such economy as sound public policy dictates, will reduce the tax

levy for the coming year to a point which has not been reached in twenty-five years, and effect a reduction of more than three millions of dollars from the amount raised by direct taxation last year.

“The subject of taxation still remains a vexed question ; and the injustice and discrimination apparent in our laws on this subject, as well as the methods of their execution, call loudly for relief. There is no object so worthy of the care and attention of the Legislature as this. Strict economy in the management of State affairs, by their agents, should furnish the people a good government at the least possible cost. This is common honesty. But to see to it that this cost is fairly and justly distributed, and the burden equally borne by those who have no peaceful redress if the State is unjust, is the best attribute of sovereignty and the highest duty to the citizen. The recognition of this duty characterizes a beneficent government ; but its repudiation marks the oppression of tyrannical power. The taxpayer need not wait till his burden is greater than he can bear for just cause of complaint. However small his tax, he may reasonably protest, if it represents more than his share of the public burden, and the State neglects all effort to apply a remedy.

“The tendency of our prosperity is in the direction of the accumulation of immense fortunes, largely invested in personal property ; and yet its aggregate valuation, as fixed for the purpose of taxation, is constantly decreased, while that of real estate is increased. For the year 1882, the valuation of personal property subject to taxation was determined at \$351,021,189, and real estate at \$2,432,661,379. In 1883 the assessed valuation of personal property was fixed at \$315,039,085, and real estate at \$2,557,218,240.

“The present law permits in the case of personal property, the indebtedness of its possessor to be deducted from its value, and allows no such deduction in favor of real estate,

though it be represented by a mortgage which is a specific lien upon such real estate. Personal property, in need more than any other of the protection of the government, when discovered, escapes taxation to the extent of its owner's indebtedness, though such indebtedness is based upon the ordinary credit in the transaction of business or is fictitious, and manufactured for the temporary purpose of evading taxation. But real property, the existence of which cannot be concealed, is, in contemplation of the law, taxed according to its full valuation, though the incumbrance upon it easily divests the owner of his title, though the interest and perhaps part of the principal must, as well as the tax, annually be met, and though if sold the amount due upon this lien must always be deducted from any sum agreed upon as the price of the land.

"This statement does not necessarily lead to a deduction of the amount of any incumbrance upon real estate from its valuation for the purpose of taxation; but it does suggest that both real and personal property should be placed upon the same footing, by abolishing, in all cases, any deduction for debts. This amendment, with some others regulating the manner in which local assessors should perform their duties, would do much towards ridding our present system of its imperfections.

"If measures more radical in their nature, having for their object the exaction of taxes which are justly due, should be deemed wise, I hope their passage will not be prevented under the specious pretext that the means proposed are inquisitorial and contrary to the spirit of our institutions. The object is to preserve the honor of the State in its dealings with the citizen, to prevent the rich, by shirking taxation, from adding to the burdens of the poor, and to relieve the land-holder from unjust discrimination. The spirit of our institutions dictates that this endeavor

should be pursued, in a manner free from all demagogism, but with the determination to use every necessary means to accomplish the result."

The governor renewed his criticism of the year before relating to the State supervision of banks, and urged the necessity of more frequent examinations. Then, passing to the subject of insurance, he noted some of the reforms effected during the year :

"Under the provisions of the law passed April 2, 1883, to regulate the formation and conduct of co-operative insurance associations, by placing them under the superintendence of the insurance department, thirteen of such associations have been incorporated, and five organized in other States have been admitted to transact business in this State. By the operation of the new law the standard of this class of insurance has been materially elevated. A number of fraudulent and mismanaged societies have been driven from business, and those honestly and prudently conducted have acquired a better place in the confidence of the community.

"A remarkable saving in expense has been effected in this department during the past year under the present administration. On the thirtieth day of April, 1883, there were thirty clerks employed in the department, whose annual salaries amounted in the aggregate to \$48,650, together with an attorney at a salary of \$4,000, while at the close of the fiscal year, September 30th, there were but seventeen clerks employed, at an aggregate annual expense of \$28,150, and the services of the attorney had been dispensed with as unnecessary. The superintendent feels confident of his ability to still further reduce these expenses without, in any manner, diminishing the efficiency of the department. As a result of this reduction, the fire, marine and life insurance companies, and the co-operative societies

organized under the laws of this State, have been notified that no fees, taxes or dues will be imposed upon them this year by the department, the statutory fees collected from the companies of other States and countries being sufficient for its maintenance."

The remarks of the governor upon the prisons and reformatory institutions of the State have been given in a preceding chapter, and will not be here repeated. His observations upon the State charities are interesting, as showing his clear-sightedness in the matter of economical reform, as well as his humanity. He said:

"Some attention given to the system of supervision of the charitable and reformatory institutions of the State convinces me that it might be much improved.

"The State board of charities is vested with the power of visitation and examination, and is required to report the condition of the institutions visited, which include all the charitable and correctional institutions in the State.

"The State commissioner in lunacy is authorized and directed to examine into and report annually to the Legislature the condition of the insane and idiotic in the State, and the management and conduct of the asylums and institutions for their care and treatment.

"The boards of trustees or managers of all the charitable and correctional institutions have generally the control of their business and internal management.

"The superintendents hold their positions under the boards of trustees, and are supposed to devote their attention to the care of the inmates of the institutions.

"The board of charities is composed of most estimable men and women who receive no compensation for their services, but devote all the time to the performance of their duties that can reasonably be expected, and their labors are

undeniably valuable. Their powers are advisory in their nature, and their recommendations are often unheeded.

“The powers and duties of the State commissioner in lunacy, so far as the institutions for the insane and idiotic are concerned, are nearly identical with those of the board of charities; and unfortunate questions have arisen from this condition.

“The visitations of the board of charities, as well as the commissioner in lunacy, are necessarily infrequent, and the information they gain of the actual management of the institutions quite general and imperfect.

“The local boards of trustees gratuitously perform the duties they have assumed, and while not unfaithful, can hardly be expected to devote time very constantly to the details of management. They very naturally gain much of their information from the statements of the superintendent in charge.

“A recent investigation by a committee of the managers of the Western House of Refuge, where delinquent boys and girls are sent for reform and instruction, satisfied the committee that for months the by-laws and regulations of the institution, relating to the punishment of inmates, had been violated; that the boys there confined had been beaten, abused and assaulted in the most outrageous manner, by the attendants and subordinates in charge, and the funds of the institution had not been sufficiently protected.

“It is assumed that neither the board of charities nor the local board of trustees had any knowledge of these things until they were exposed by the investigation; and the superintendent testified that he was entirely ignorant of the instances of cruelty established by the testimony. A system which permits this condition of things is evidently defective.

“The time will never come when the humane sentiment of the people will approve the cruel treatment or the neglect

of the unfortunate or even criminal inmates of these institutions ; and their usefulness depends upon giving no occasion for the growth of a suspicious and unreasoning belief that their benevolent purposes are lost or perverted. That system of management is, therefore, manifestly best which most nearly satisfies the public that it is conducted with due regard to justice and forbearance.

“Another and a more practical consideration is involved in this question. The State annually appropriates from half to three-quarters of a million of dollars to the maintenance of these institutions ; and those connected with the making or administration of the laws, owe, as a duty to the taxpayers of the State, their best efforts to guard the expenditure of the money thus appropriated against extravagance, and insure its advantageous application to the purposes for which it is intended.

“An examination of some of the expenditures of these institutions and the cost of the maintenance of their inmates, establishes the fact that their business management is seriously at fault.

“A report made to the comptroller by the agent appointed in 1878, to examine their financial affairs and business administration, contains much valuable and startling information. By this report it appears that our State institutions compare very unfavorably in the cost of their maintenance with those of other states and countries. Confined to our own State, the result of the inquiry in this respect is no less striking. There is reported quite an important variation in the prices paid for the same kind of supplies, and a great difference in the expense of supporting their inmates. The cost of provisions and supplies is given for the support of each inmate in the year 1877, in twenty different lunatic asylums, three of which are located in this State and seventeen in other states and provinces. Of the

seventeen the annual cost *per capita* in six institutions was between \$50.00 and \$60.00; in two between \$60.00 and \$70.00; in seven between \$70.00 and \$80.00; in one \$81.87, and in one \$101.74. In the three New York institutions this cost is reported at \$105.88, \$140.78 and \$157.22. It thus appears that the New York asylums are not only much more expensive than the others, but that among themselves there is a difference between the highest and lowest rate of more than fifty per cent.

"The last report of the State board of charities contains a statement of the weekly *per capita* cost of maintaining the inmates in several of our State institutions, which shows a variation scarcely less marked.

"I cannot but believe that much that is defective and expensive in the present management of these institutions is attributable to divided responsibility and consequent loose and unbusiness-like methods. I fear that too much of the time of superintendents, which should be devoted to the actual care and watch of those put in their charge, is spent in other occupations, which, though not necessarily foreign to the interests of the institutions, should not be included among their duties.

"At every session of the Legislature, not only the superintendent, but delegations from the local boards of managers, appear before the committees having the subject of appropriations in charge, asking for money to maintain their institutions, which, if needed, they should receive without importunity. Appropriations are made for all manner of enlargements, repairs, alterations and improvements, many of which are disapproved after executive examination, which is unavoidably imperfect and may lead to injustice.

"A suspicion may well be entertained that in the localities where these institutions are situate the privilege of furnishing the supplies and materials is granted from motives

of friendliness or a desire to patronize home trade, resulting in bargains disadvantageous to the institutions and the State.

“In seeking to better the condition of affairs, we cannot fail to be reminded of the experience of the State in relation to prison management. During the year ending the thirtieth day of September, 1876, there was paid from the treasury for the maintenance of these institutions, above their earnings, the sum of \$704,379.85. By an amendment to the constitution adopted in November of that year the superintendence, management and control of the State prisons were vested in a superintendent, who entered upon the discharge of his duties in February, 1878. On the thirtieth day of September following, or in less than nine months, under the new management the deficiency of expenditure was reduced to \$369,688.08. This deficiency steadily decreased until the thirtieth of September, 1881, when a surplus of \$564.35 was reported, which has annually increased until at the close of the last year it reached \$9,106.23.

“There seems to be no good reason why similarly favorable results cannot be obtained by the application of a like system to the control and management of the business affairs of our charitable institutions. It accords with the plan adopted where large private interests are involved; it has the advantage of concentrated responsibility; the Legislature and executive should, under such a system, be satisfactorily informed of the actual needs of the different institutions and the necessary appropriations should be cheerfully made; the time of the superintendents could be devoted to their legitimate and proper duties; the detection and prevention of abuses and neglect could be reasonably exacted; a very large saving should be effected in the wholesale purchase of supplies of uniform grade, for all the institutions, and the advantages consequent upon a correct appli-

cation of business methods would be secured to the people of the State.

"The change suggested contemplates the employment of a fit person vested with the supervision and control of these institutions, to whom a fair salary should be paid, and who should have no other business. He should absolutely be required to devote all his time to the performance of his duties.

"The attention of the Legislature is earnestly called to this subject, in the hope that a better system may be adopted, with such careful consideration of detail and the necessary change in present laws as will secure the inauguration of a plan which shall be simple, efficient and well perfected."

In his first message, the governor had directed attention to the condition of the quarantine and health department, and he again presented certain features which seemed to him to render reform necessary :

"In July, 1881, the Senate appointed a committee to investigate and ascertain the emoluments and to examine into the administration of the health officer of the port of New York, with a view of making the quarantine department self sustaining, and framing such laws as may be in the public interest. The committee, after making quite a thorough examination and taking a great deal of testimony, submitted a report in which they express the opinion that the gross net income of the health officer could not average less than \$40,000 per annum, and might, in favorable years, reach as high as \$60,000 or more, and that they were sufficient to pay all the cost of maintaining the quarantine establishment after paying the health officer a liberal salary.

"Another fact appears in the evidence taken by the committee, which is not referred to in their report. The present incumbent of the health office testified that, in the year 1880, he paid between \$9,000 and \$10,000 as a voluntary

contribution to the party of which he was a member, for political purposes.

"When, in addition to the facts above presented, the Legislature is reminded that notwithstanding the amount so collected, appropriations are annually made from the State treasury for the support of the quarantine department, the need of legislation on this subject will, I hope, be recognized.

"It may be that, upon consideration, the fees which are now legitimately charged for services performed in this department will not be found unduly burdensome, though some vessels now subjected to their payment might be relieved; but all fees and charges resting, in the discretion of the officer, or exacted without authority, should be definitely fixed by law or prohibited.

"In my judgment the health officer should be attached to the quarantine establishment and be paid a fair salary, which, as well as the salaries of the other parties in charge of the department, and the cost of maintaining the buildings and property of the State used in connection therewith, should be met by fees and charges collected for services performed, which fees and charges should be fixed at no higher rate than is necessary to meet such expenses.

"The inauguration of such a system, it is believed, would insure an efficient administration in this important department, relieve the taxpayers of the State from present burdens, and subserve the interests of the commerce of the port."

In yet another department he presented a demand for reform :

"In my last annual message the attention of the Legislature was called to the fact that the fees then collected by the harbor-masters at the port of New York had been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be illegal, and

that such fees were notwithstanding still collected under the guise of voluntary payments made for the services of those officers. It was also suggested that such services might be intrusted to the department of docks in connection with its other work, and thus the commerce of the port be relieved from any charge for the same. This suggestion was not adopted, but a law was passed allowing the governor to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a captain of the port and eleven harbor-masters, and abolishing those offices as they previously existed. The captain of the port, under the new law, was to receive a salary of thirty-five hundred dollars, besides certain expenses, and the harbor-masters were to receive a salary of twenty-five hundred dollars each, to be paid from the State treasury.

"It was claimed that the office of harbor-master was necessary, and that the department of docks should not be invested with their duties. Though the argument in its favor did not appear conclusive, and though the payment of the expenses of these officials by the State seemed very objectionable, the bill was approved because it seemed to be the only attainable method to relieve the State from complicity in the blackmailing and extortionate methods of the prevailing system.

"An effort to execute this law failed through the refusal of the Senate to act upon the nominations made to the offices which were created. I am now entirely satisfied that the department of docks can well perform the duties heretofore devolved upon harbor-masters without expense to the State, and with little, if any, additional cost to the city of New York.

"It appears from statements made to me that this service has been assumed by this department and substantially performed under its direction during the past season.

"I recommend the repeal of the law remaining unexe-

cuted, being chapter 357 of the laws of 1883, and all other laws by which the office of harbor-master was created or is in any manner recognized, and the transfer of the duties heretofore performed by harbor-masters to the department of docks."

During the year Governor Cleveland had appointed a board of railroad commissioners, as before stated, and in his message he referred to the work of this board in the protection of the people's interests, as follows :

"The action of the board in requiring the filing of quarterly reports by the railroad companies, exhibiting their financial condition, is a most important step in advance, and should be abundantly sustained. It would, in my opinion, be a most valuable protection to the people if other large corporations were obliged to report to some department their transactions and financial condition.

"The State creates these corporations upon the theory that some proper thing of benefit can be better done by them than by private enterprise, and that the aggregation of the funds of many individuals may be thus profitably employed. They are launched upon the public with the seal of the State in some sense upon them. They are permitted to represent the advantages they possess and the wealth sure to follow from admission to membership. In one hand is held a charter from the State, and in the other is proffered their stock.

"It is a fact, singular though well established, that people will pay their money for stock in a corporation engaged in enterprises in which they would refuse to invest if in private hands.

"It is a grave question whether the formation of these artificial bodies ought not to be checked or better regulated and in some way supervised.

"At any rate they should always be kept well in hand,

and the funds of its citizens should be protected by the State which has invited their investment. While the stockholders are the owners of the corporate property, notoriously they are oftentimes completely in the power of the directors and managers, who acquire a majority of the stock, and by this means perpetuate their control, using the corporate property and franchises for their benefit and profit, regardless of the interests and rights of the minority of stockholders. Immense salaries are paid to officers; transactions are consummated by which the directors make money, while the rank and file among the stockholders lose it; the honest investor waits for dividends, and the directors grow rich. It is suspected, too, that large sums are spent under various disguises in efforts to influence legislation.

"It is not consistent to claim that the citizen must protect himself, by refusing to purchase stock. The law constantly recognizes the fact that people should be defended from false representations and from their own folly and cupidity. It punishes obtaining goods by false pretenses, gambling and lotteries.

"It is a hollow mockery to direct the owner of a small amount of stock in one of these institutions to the courts. Under existing statutes, the law's delay, perplexity and uncertainty lead but to despair.

"The State should either refuse to allow these corporations to exist under its authority and patronage, or acknowledging their paternity and its responsibility, should provide a simple, easy way for its people whose money is invested, and the public generally, to discover how the funds of these institutions are spent, and how their affairs are conducted. It should at the same time provide a way by which the squandering or misuse of corporate funds would be made good to the parties injured thereby.

"This might well be accomplished by requiring corpora-

tions to frequently file reports, made out with the utmost detail, and which would not allow lobby expenses to be hidden under the pretext of legal services and counsel fees, accompanied by vouchers and sworn to by the officers making them, showing particularly the debts, liabilities, expenditures and property of the corporation. Let this report be delivered to some appropriate department or officer, who shall audit and examine the same ; provide that a false oath to such account shall be perjury, and make the directors liable to refund to the injured stockholders any expenditure which shall be determined improper by the auditing authority.

“Such requirements might not be favorable to stock speculation, but they would protect the innocent investors ; they might make the management of corporations more troublesome, but this ought not to be considered when the protection of the people is the matter in hand. It would prevent corporate efforts to influence legislation ; the honestly conducted and strong corporations would have nothing to fear ; the badly managed and weak ought to be exposed.”

It was during Governor Cleveland's first year, also, that civil service reform was undertaken. Of this he says in his message :

“During the year the provisions of the act passed by the last Legislature to regulate and improve the civil service of the State have been put into operation. Fortunately a commission was secured whose members were in hearty sympathy with the principles of the law, and who possessed much practical knowledge of the needs of the public service. The commission itself was also fortunate in obtaining the services of Silas W. Burt as chief examiner, whose experience in public affairs and familiarity with the best methods of regulating the civil service enabled him to render invaluable assistance to the commission and the State. The pre-

liminary classification and the framing of rules, contemplated by the act governing the appointments to place, having been completed and received my approval, the system will become operative in respect to all State officers and in all State institutions on the fourth day of the present month. This work, owing to the diversity of the State service, and the number and variety of positions affected by the law, has been a task attended with many difficulties. Although some slight revision may be necessary, on the whole I am confident the scheme will be found practical and effective, without being too rigorous or burdensome.

"In addition the commission has co-operated with the mayors of cities who, under the law, have exclusive control of the municipal service, and in several cities, notably New York and Brooklyn, a thorough system of civil service has been prepared and promulgated as nearly in harmony with the State system, as the charters and statutes relating to municipal matters will permit.

"New York then leads in the inauguration of a comprehensive State system of civil service. The principle of selecting the subordinate employés of the State on the ground of capacity and fitness, ascertained according to fixed and impartial rules, without regard to political predilections and with reasonable assurance of retention and promotion in case of meritorious service, is now the established policy of the State. The children of our citizens are educated and trained in schools maintained at common expense, and the people as a whole have a right to demand the selection for the public service of those whose natural aptitudes have been improved by the educational facilities furnished by the State. The application to the public service of the same rule which prevails in ordinary business, of employing those whose knowledge and training best fit them for the duties at hand, without regard to other considerations, must elevate

and improve the civil service and eradicate from it many evils from which it has long suffered. Not the least gratifying of the results which this system promises to accomplish, is relief to public men from the annoyance of impotunity in the strife for appointments to subordinate places."

Of the new primary election law, the governor said :

"The act passed by the last Legislature and approved by me extending the laws to prevent and punish frauds and corruption in the primary elections or caucuses throughout the State, was in most localities generally observed during the year and seems to provide absolutely for the correction in this State of what had come to be a great abuse. In many sections of the State a nomination from one or the other of the principal political parties is practically equivalent to an election, and in every section, under our system of parties, pure primaries providing for an honest expression of public sentiment is one of the principal guaranties the people possess of their rights as citizens. With this law in force the means are in the hands of the people, if they so will, to secure pure primaries."

In the matter of the new Capitol building, Governor Cleveland had also introduced reform methods, and the result he indicated in his message, as follows :

"The commissioner in charge has faithfully devoted himself to the performance of his important duties, and conducted the construction with energy and system, and with the most gratifying results. The taxpayers who have waited so long for relief from the burden of this gigantic work may cherish a well-founded hope that the day of their deliverance is at hand. They have a right to demand, and they may expect, that the method, at last inaugurated, of exacting from employes a fair day's work for a fair day's pay will be continued without permitting the people's money to

be wasted to secure partisan advantages. With an appropriation sufficient to continue the work with the same force of men as that employed during the past season, it can reasonably be expected that the entire interior of the structure will be completed by April first, of next year, and the approaches and porticoes comprising the exterior work unfinished, within two years from the present date. The progress made this year is an added vindication of the usefulness in practice of concentrated responsibility. Any regrets respecting the time which has been spent or the money expended in the erection of this building are out of place. Economy now is found in pushing to the utmost its completion."

So, also, in the department of public buildings, the effect of reform methods was to be seen :

"Under the old system each of these buildings was separately managed, supplies were purchased for each in comparatively small quantities at various prices, and in every respect they were maintained as distinct from each other, as though they were as many different properties belonging to different individuals. The advantage of the new system is seen in the improved condition of the buildings and their furniture, in a reduced pay-roll and in lower prices for supplies. The State buildings at Albany and their fixtures have cost many millions of dollars, and in themselves constitute a large property, which requires constant and intelligent care to preserve from decay and dilapidation. That heretofore, because of divided responsibility and an absolute lack of system, there has been great neglect in this matter, involving immense losses to the State is conceded. That the new system is in the line of the application of business methods to the administration of public affairs, and is an important reform, is already proven."

The governor then urged the importance of arresting the further destruction of the Adirondack forests, which protect the water supply of the Hudson, Mohawk, and Black rivers, and the Erie canal; and after the discussion of other departments of the State administration, the message concluded as follows:

"The people of the State are to be congratulated upon the progress made during the last year in the direction of wholesome legislation.

"The most practical and thorough civil service reform has gained a place in the policy of the State.

"Political assessments upon employés in the public departments have been prohibited.

"The rights of all citizens at primary elections have been protected by law.

"A bureau has been established to collect information and statistics touching the relations between labor and capital.

"The sale of forest land at the source of our important streams has been prohibited, thereby checking threatened disaster to the commerce on our water-ways.

"Debts and obligations for the payment of money, owned though not actually held within the State, have been made subject to taxation, thus preventing an unfair evasion of liability for the support of the government.

"Business principles have been introduced in the construction and care of the new Capitol and other public buildings, and waste and extravagance thereby prevented.

"A law has been passed for the better administration of the emigration bureau and the prevention of its abuses.

"The people have been protected by placing co-operative insurance companies under the control and supervision of the insurance department.

"The fees of receivers have been reduced and regulated in the interests of the creditors of insolvent companies.

"A Court of Claims has been established where the demands of citizens against the State may be properly determined.

"These legislative accomplishments, and others of less importance and prominence, may well be cited in proof of the fact that the substantial interests of the people of the State have not been neglected.

"The State of New York largely represents within her borders, the development of every interest which makes a nation great. Proud of her place as leader in the community of States, she fully appreciates her intimate relations to the prosperity of the country; and justly realizing the responsibility of her position, she recognizes, in her policy and her laws as of first importance, the freedom of commerce from all unnecessary restrictions. Her citizens have assumed the burden of maintaining, at their own cost and free to commerce the water-way which they have built and through which the products of the great West are transported to the seaboard. At the suggestion of danger she hastens to save her northern forests, and thus preserve to commerce, her canals and vessel-laden rivers. The State has become responsible for a bureau of emigration, which cares for those who seek our shores from other lands, adding to the nation's population and hastening to the development of its vast domain; while at the country's gateway a quarantine, established by the State, protects the nation's health.

"Surely this great commonwealth, committed fully to the interests of commerce and all that adds to the country's prosperity, may well inquire how her efforts and sacrifices have been answered; and she, of all the States, may urge that the interests thus by her protected, should by the greater government administered for all, be fostered for the benefit of the American people.

"Fifty years ago a most distinguished foreigner, who visited this country and studied its condition and prospects, wrote: 'When I contemplate the ardor with which the Americans prosecute commerce, the advantages which aid them and the success of their undertakings, I cannot help believing that they will one day become the first maritime power of the globe. They are bound to rule the seas as the Romans were to conquer the world. * * * The Americans themselves now transport to their own shores nine-tenths of the European produce which they consume, and they also bring three-fourths of the exports of the New World to the European consumers. The ships of the United States fill the docks of Havre and of Liverpool; while the number of English and French vessels which are to be seen at New York is comparatively small.'

"We turn to the actual results reached since these words were written, with disappointment. In 1840, American vessels carried 82 9-10 per cent. of all our exports and imports; in 1850, 72 5-10; in 1860, 66 5-10; in 1870, 35 6-10; in 1880, 17 4-10; in 1882, 15 5-10.

"The citizens of New York, looking beyond his State and all her efforts in the interest of commerce and national growth, will naturally inquire concerning the causes of this decadence of American shipping.

"While he sternly demands of his home government the exact limitation of taxation by the needs of the State, he will challenge the policy that accumulates millions of useless and unnecessary surplus in the National treasury, which has been not less a tax because it was indirectly but surely added to the cost of the people's life.

"Let us anticipate a time when care for the people's needs as they actually arise, and the application of remedies, as wrongs appear, shall lead in the conduct of national affairs; and let us undertake the business of legislation with the full

determination that these principles shall guide us, in the performance of our duties as guardians of the interests of the State.

“GROVER CLEVELAND.”

With this message the second year of Governor Cleveland's administration was opened.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Labor Question.—Governor Cleveland's Strict Equity.—His Pledge to the Working Men.—The Bureau of Labor Statistics.—The Tenement-House Cigar Bill.—The Conductors' and Drivers' Bill.—The Mechanics' Lien Bill.—Veto of the Catholic Protectory Appropriation.

The one pervading idea in Governor Cleveland's official as well as his individual life was that of the honest performance of duty, according equal and exact justice to every one. This was the foundation of all his acts ; and its application alike to rich and poor, powerful and weak, has been fully illustrated in the foregoing chapters.

There is, however, one question on which opinion and interest are very sensitive, and this is the question of how to protect the rights of labor, especially when brought into conflict with the encroachments of incorporated capital.

The Democratic party of New York, in nominating Grover Cleveland for governor, proclaimed its principles in these words :

"We re-affirm the policy always maintained by the Democratic party, that it is of the first importance that labor should be made free, healthful and secure of just remuneration. That convict labor should not come into competition with the industry of law-abiding citizens. That the labor of children should be surrounded with such safeguards as their health, their rights of education and their future, as useful members of the community demand. That work-

shops, whether large or small, should be under such sanitary control as will insure the health and comfort of the employed, and will protect all against unwholesome labor and surroundings. That labor shall have the same rights as capital to combine for its own protection, and that all legislation which cramps industry, or which enables the powerful to oppress the weak, should be repealed; and, to promote the interests of labor, we recommend the collection of statistics and information respecting the improvements, needs and abuses of the various branches of industry."

Mr. Cleveland, in accepting the nomination, gave his assent to these ideas with emphasis, saying: "The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman." The promise of the Democratic platform and of his acceptance was by him bravely fulfilled. Under his administration the bureau of labor statistics was established; a bill was signed by him prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses; after years of unsuccessful attempts, he secured the enactment of a law prohibiting the manufacture of woolen hats in the State prisons, penitentiaries and reformatories of the State.

This was in the first year of his term. In 1884, the tenement-house cigar bill, which had been declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals, was re-enacted in proper shape and signed by the governor. A bill prohibiting the employment of convicts on contract labor was passed and sent to him for approval. His quick legal sense discovered in the bill certain defects that would render it inoperative, and after consultation with the president of the State Trades Assembly,

he sent the bill back with suggestions for the correction of its defects, and signed it promptly when it came again to him properly amended. Another of the bills introduced in the interest of labor this year was that making it unlawful for the trustees or managers of any house of refuge, reformatory, or other correctional institution, to contract, hire or let the service or labor of any child committed to or an inmate of such institution. It was passed and signed by the governor.

Governor Cleveland has been criticised for refusing to sign the bill known as the "Conductors' and Drivers' bill," which pretended to make twelve hours a day's work for such employes of horse railroads. It was a mere pretense, for it could in no way effect what it assumed; and Governor Cleveland honestly declared: "I cannot think that this bill is in the interest of the workingmen."

Another measure which Governor Cleveland vetoed in 1884 was known as the "Mechanics' Lien Law"; and this has also been made the subject of criticism. The president of the Trades Assembly of New York State, speaking for the workingmen in that organization, says: "As to the lien law, it is generally acknowledged now that he did us a kindness in vetoing that bill, because through errors of our own in drafting the measure, the bill as passed would have been a positive injury to us."

As this matter is, however, of considerable importance in its relation to the labor question, a full discussion of the merits of the bill, and of Governor Cleveland's action in refusing to sign it, is given herewith, taken from the editorial columns of the Republic, an Irish-American journal of Boston, an influential and acknowledged representative of the workingmen, edited by Hon. Patrick Maguire, of the Governor's Council:

"One of the strongest arguments urged by Republicans

upon workingmen to induce such voters to oppose Governor Cleveland is his refusal to sign the mechanics' lien law, which he vetoed in the last session of the Albany Assembly. By unscrupulously misrepresenting the nature of that law, and by attributing to the governor motives he never entertained, they have partially succeeded in creating the impression that he is an enemy of the working classes, and therefore is entitled to their opposition. Let us see how much truth there is in that assertion as far as his veto of the mechanics' lien law is concerned.

“At the outset, it must not be supposed that the mechanics of New York State enjoy no lien laws at all, and that the bill Governor Cleveland vetoed was the first attempt on their part to secure one. There is a multiplicity of such laws on the statute books of the Empire State, and by them mechanics are given a lien upon *‘any house, vault, wharf, fence or other structure, or in grading, filling in, excavating or laying walks,’ etc., etc.* The measure which the governor refused to sign was one of those supplemental pieces of legislation which those who favor them think perfect, but which are very often exactly the reverse. For instance, had this vetoed lien bill become a law it would have applied only to cities, and country mechanics would not be affected by it, though, as we shall soon show, that result would be beneficial instead of detrimental to them. The passage of the defeated bill would have invalidated eight or nine other lien laws and made it impossible for mechanics to put liens on all the works described in italics above. Certainly no intelligent mechanic will find fault with Governor Cleveland for having refused to sign a bill of that description, which would deprive him of the power of securing wages which he can now recover under the existing laws! Furthermore, the proposed bill allowed contractors, and the merchants from whom the contractors bought their supplies, to come

in on equal footing with the workingmen on liens, and every mechanic understands that such a state of things would greatly lessen his chances of securing in full the money that might be due him.

“The present lien laws require the contractor to file his notice of lien within thirty days; the vetoed law would allow him four months. This extension of time would militate heavily against the transfer of any property upon which a lien had been put, and, consequently, it would postpone, in many instances, the payment of wages. For, as every mechanic understands, builders frequently, for their own protection, retain a large portion of the contract price as long as they legally can, and the placing of a lien upon a work, raising as it does a serious obstacle to its transfer, would infallibly postpone the payment of wages, because of the contractor's inability to obtain his money from the owner or builder. Instead of having to wait thirty days, as is now the case, mechanics, had Governor Cleveland signed the bill he vetoed, might be obliged to wait four times that length of time for their earnings, and they would, furthermore, be required to personally serve a notice on the owner or builder within ten days after filing their lien in addition to the steps which the present laws demand.

“Lastly, the present laws decree that the costs of putting a lien on any work shall be equitably adjusted by the courts, which have generally been fair and considerate of the mechanics in their decisions of such matters. The vetoed measure did away with all this adjustment that has worked so satisfactorily, and fixed the costs of liens on the same basis as foreclosures of mortgages, thus making the action more costly and expensive to the mechanics, and beneficial chiefly to the lawyers who would have to be employed.

“The vetoed bill was, of course, a question which interested the mechanics of New York State alone, but, since

Governor Cleveland's nomination, his action in refusing to sign it has been made a topic of national debate, and is therefore to be considered in a broader view than heretofore. The intelligent mechanics of New York State already understand that, far from showing himself hostile to the workingmen by vetoing this measure, the Democratic standard bearer proved himself their true friend. They see now that if the proposed bill had become law they would, in the first place, be deprived of the power of putting a lien on a large and important class of works which they can now attach, that they would, in the second place, be oftentimes obliged to wait a longer time than they now do for their wages, and, finally, that the enforcement of their liens would be attended with a great deal more red tape and expense than are now required. Consequently, instead of being offended with Governor Cleveland for his action in this matter, they are grateful to him for his refusal to sign the bill in question. The Republicans naturally misrepresent the governor's motives, and declare that his veto stamps him as an enemy of the working classes; but no man who reads this explanation of Governor Cleveland's veto of the mechanics' lien law can fail to come to the conclusion that he showed himself, in that matter at least, a true friend to the mechanics of the cities of New York."

On another subject, not connected with the labor question, Governor Cleveland has been accused of partiality, or perhaps prejudice. This was his action in vetoing, in the general supply bill of 1883, an item "for the support and maintenance of juvenile delinquents at the Catholic protectorary." The veto message was as follows:

"By chapter 448 of the laws of 1863, a corporation was created named 'The Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Children in the City of New York.' The

name of this corporation was changed by act of the Legislature in the year 1871, to 'The New York Catholic Protectory.'

'The appropriation in the item above mentioned is 'for the support and maintenance of juvenile delinquents at the Catholic protectory.'

'Without inquiry as to the effect of the misnomer of the corporation as it appears in the appropriation, I think it should not be approved for other reasons.

'If it were not for an opinion given by a former attorney-general of this State, I should have great doubt as to the validity of this appropriation under that section of the Constitution which provides as follows: 'Neither the credit nor the money of the State shall be given or loaned to or in aid of any association, corporation or private undertaking. This section shall not, however, prevent the Legislature from making such provision for the education and support of the blind, the deaf and dumb and juvenile delinquents, as to it may seem proper, nor shall it apply to any fund or property now held by the State for educational purposes.'

'The only provisions of the charter of this institution under which it can be claimed to be a place for the maintenance of juvenile delinquents, are those which allow it to take and receive 'children between seven and fourteen years of age who may be committed to the care of such corporation, as idle, truant, vicious or homeless children, by order of any magistrate in the city of New York, empowered by law to make committal of children for any such cause,' and also 'children of the like age, who may be transferred at the option of the commissioners of public charities and correction of the city of New York, to such corporation.'

'The name of this institution implies that only Roman Catholic children are there provided for. If this be so, that fact furnishes a good reason why public funds should not be

contributed to its support. A violation of this principle in this case would tend to subject the State treasury to demands on behalf of all classes of sectarian institutions which a due care for the money of the State and a just economy could not concede, and which would yet have a justification in precedent.

"It will be seen, too, that the delinquents received at this institution are committed to its care by the authorities of the city of New York.

"Thus it appears to be local in its purposes and operation, which affords, it seems to me, an additional reason why it should not be aided by the State.

"I am informed that the municipality of New York pays a stated and reasonable compensation for the support and maintenance of such juvenile delinquents as are committed to this protectory. If this be true, even the plea of want and necessity cannot be urged to justify this appropriation."

Some criticisms upon this veto were expressed by those ignorant of the purely public considerations which influenced the governor, who in his appointments and personal friendships has shown his absolute freedom from all sectarian prejudice. To such criticism a ready answer has been given by the better informed officers of the protectory in the following letter :

"Mr. Daniel Manning, Chairman New York Delegation, Chicago, Ill.

"We never doubted the sincerity of the motives which induced Governor Cleveland to withhold his signature to the appropriation to the protectory. We thought then, and think now, that he was not actuated by any feeling of bigotry, or hostility to Catholics or to Catholic institutions. On the contrary, Governor Cleveland is liberal in the extreme, and we are of the firm belief that he was led to with-

holding his approval of the appropriation solely by a sense of public duty as he viewed it.

“HENRY L. HOGUET,

President of the Protectory.

“JOHN E. DEVELIN,

Legal Counsel and Adviser to the Protectory.”

A further refutation of the charge referred to, is found in Governor Cleveland's appointments of John D. Kernan, railroad commissioner, John A. McCall, superintendent of the insurance department, James Shanahan, superintendent of public works, to the three leading positions in the State, government, and other prominent Irish-Americans to offices of honor.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The New York Reform Bills.—Radical Changes in the City Government.—The Mayoralty Bill.—Governor Cleveland's Reasons for its Approval.—An Important State Paper.—The County Clerk's Bill.—The Sheriff's Bill.—The Governor Corrects Errors in the Register's and Surrogate's Bills.—His Veto of the Tenure of Office Bill.

During the session of the Legislature in 1884, a vigorous effort was made to carry through certain legislation for the reform of the methods of government in New York city. Encouraged by the fact that at last a reform governor sat in the executive chair, and confident that his aid would be forthcoming in support of any honest and practical reform that should be proposed, this was made an issue in the election of members of the Legislature, and the reform party entered that body with considerable strength as to numbers, and no little ability in its individual representatives.

This work of tinkering the charters of the great cities, and especially of New York, had been going on for years, and some Legislatures devoted so much attention to it that the special enactments of this sort formed the bulk of the work of the session. But in 1884 a well-considered plan was formed for a radical change in certain matters where reform was needed in the administration of affairs in the city of New York, and several bills were introduced looking to that end. Governor Cleveland gave all the aid in his power to these measures, signing all but two, which were

so carelessly drafted as to defeat the very purposes they were intended to accomplish.

The first of these bills, and that one which went most deeply down to the root of the trouble in the New York city government, was what is known as the "mayorality responsibility bill." Up to this time, under the charter of the city of New York, appointments of heads of departments were made by the mayor, subject to the consent and confirmation of the board of aldermen. Out of this provision no little trouble had grown, owing to conflicts between the mayor and the board, which the divided responsibility for appointments thus made left, no real responsibility resting anywhere.

The proposed reform consisted in taking from the aldermen the power of confirmation and endowing the mayor with authority to make all appointments absolutely; thus fixing upon him alone the sole responsibility for the proper conduct of the departments.

There was, of course, great opposition to this measure from those who wished to retain power and patronage in the hands of the aldermen, and the passage of the bill was strenuously contested. This bill, entitled "An act to center responsibility in the municipal government of the city of New York," was, however, finally passed, and was signed by Governor Cleveland as soon as presented to him. Accompanying the approved bill, the governor filed a statement of his reasons for signing it, which is a State paper of such importance that it is given herewith in full:

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, March 17, 1884.

"The interest which has been aroused regarding the merits of this bill, and quite a determined hostility which has been developed on the part of those entitled to respectful consideration, appear to justify a brief reference to the principles and purposes which seem to me to be involved in

the measure, and an incidental statement of the process of thought by which I have been led to approve the same.

"The opponents of the bill have invoked the inviolability of the right of the people to rule themselves, and have insisted upon the preservation of a wise distribution of power among the different branches of government; and I have listened to solemn warning against the subversive tendency of the concentration of power in municipal rule, and the destructive consequences of any encroachment upon the people's rights and prerogatives.

"I hope I have not entirely misconceived the scope and reach of this bill; but it seems to me that my determination as to whether or not it should become a law does not depend upon the reverence I entertain for such fundamental principles.

"The question is not whether certain officers heretofore elected by the people of the city of New York shall, under the provisions of a new law, be appointed. The transfer of power from an election by the people to an appointment by other authority, has already been made.

"The present charter of the city provides that the mayor 'shall nominate and by and with the consent of the board of aldermen, appoint the heads of departments.'

"The bill under consideration provides that after the first day of January, 1885, 'all appointments to office in the city of New York now made by the mayor and confirmed by the board of alderman, shall be made by the mayor without such confirmation.'

"The change proposed is clearly apparent. By the present charter the mayor elected by all the people of the city, if a majority of twenty-four aldermen elected by the voters of twenty-four separate districts concur with him, may appoint the administrative officers who shall have charge and management of the city departments.

"The bill presented for my action allows the mayor alone to appoint these officers. This authority is not conferred upon the mayor now in office, who was chosen without anticipation on the part of the people who elected him, that he should exercise this power, but upon the incoming mayor who, after the passage of the act, shall be elected with the full knowledge on the part of the people at the time they cast their votes, that they are constituting an agent to act for them in the selection of certain other city officers.

"This selection under either statute is delegated by the people. In the one case it is exercised by the chief executive acting with twenty-four officers representing as many different sections of the municipality; in the other by the chief executive alone.

"I cannot see that any principle of Democratic rule is more violated in the one case than in the other. It appears to be a mere change of instrumentalities.

"It will hardly do to say that because the aldermen are elected annually, and the mayor every two years, that the former are nearer the people, and more especially their representatives. The difference in their terms is not sufficient to make a distinction in their direct relations to the citizen.

"Nor are the rights of the people to self-government in theory and principle better protected when the power of appointment is vested in twenty-five men, twenty-four of whom are responsible only to their constituents in their respective districts, than when this power is put in the hands of one man, elected by all the people of the municipality, with particular reference to the exercise of such power. Indeed, in the present condition of affairs, if disagreement arises between the mayor and the aldermen, the selection of officers by the representative of all the people might be defeated by the adverse action of thirteen representatives of thirteen aldermanic districts. And it is perfectly apparent

that these thirteen might, and often would, represent a decided minority of the people of the municipality.

"It cannot be claimed that an arrangement which permits such a result is pre-eminently Democratic.

"It has been urged that the proposed change is opposed to the principle of home rule. If it is intended to claim that the officers, the creation of which is provided for, should be elected, it has no relevancy ; for that question is not in any manner presented for my determination. And it surely cannot be said that the doctrine of home rule prevents any change by the Legislature of the organic law of municipalities. The people of the city cannot themselves make such change ; and if legislative aid cannot be invoked to that end it follows that abuses, flagrant and increasing, must be continued, and existing charter provisions, the inadequacy of which for the protection and prosperity of the people is freely admitted, must be perpetuated. It is the interference of the Legislature with the administration of municipal government, by agencies arbitrarily created by legislative enactment, and the assumption by the law-making power of the State, of the rights to regulate such details of city government as are, or should be, under the supervision of local authorities, that should be condemned as a violation of the doctrine of home rule.

If any event I am convinced that I should not disapprove the bill before me on the ground that it violates any principle which is now recognized and exemplified in the government of the city of New York.

"I am also satisfied that as between the system now prevailing and that proposed, expediency and a close regard to improved municipal administration lead to my approval of the measure.

"If the chief executive of the city is to be held responsible for its order and good government, he should not be

hampered by any interference with his selection of subordinate administrative officers ; nor should he be permitted to find in a divided responsibility an excuse for any neglect of the best interests of the people.

"The plea should never be heard that a bad nomination had been made because it was the only one that could secure confirmation.

"No instance has been cited in which a bad appointment has been prevented by the refusal of the board of aldermen of the city of New York to confirm a nomination.

"An absolute and undivided responsibility on the part of the appointing power accords with correct business principles, the application of which to public affairs will always, I believe, direct the way to good administration and the protection of the people's interests.

"The intelligence and watchfulness of the citizens of New York should certainly furnish a safe guaranty that the duties and powers devolved by this legislation upon their chosen representative will be well and wisely bestowed ; and if they err or are betrayed, their remedy is close at hand.

"I can hardly realize the unprincipled boldness of the man who would accept at the hands of his neighbors this sacred trust, and, standing alone in the full light of public observation, should wilfully prostitute his powers and defy the will of the people.

"To say that such a man could by such means perpetuate his wicked rule, concedes either that the people are vile or that self-government is a deplorable failure.

"It is claimed that because some of these appointees become members of the board of estimate and apportionment, which determines very largely the amount of taxation, therefore the power to select them should not be given to the mayor. If the question presented was whether officials having such important duties and functions should be elected

by the people or appointed, such a consideration might well be urged in favor of their election. But they are now appointed, and they will remain appointive whether the proposed bill should be rejected or approved. This being the situation, the importance of the duties to be performed by these officials has to do with the care to be exercised in their selection, rather than the choice between the two modes of appointment which are under consideration.

“For some time prior to the year 1872 these appointments were made by the mayor without confirmation, as is contemplated by the bill now before me. In that year a measure passed the Legislature giving the power of appointment to the Common Council. The chief executive of the State at that time was a careful and thorough student of municipal affairs, having large and varied experience in public life. He refused to approve the bill, on the ground that it was a departure from the principle which should be applied to the administration of the affairs of the city, and for the reason that the mayor should be permitted to appoint the subordinate administrative officers without the interference of any other authority.

“This reference to the treatment of the subject by one of my distinguished predecessors in office affords me the opportunity to quote from his able and vigorous veto message which he sent to the Legislature on that occasion. He said: ‘Nowhere on this continent is it so essentially a condition of good government as in the city of New York that the chief executive officer should be clothed with ample powers, have full control over subordinate administrative departments, and so be subject to an undivided responsibility to the people and to public opinion for all errors, shortcomings and wrong-doings by subordinate officers.’

“He also said: ‘Give to the city a chief executive, with full power to appoint all heads of administrative departments,

Let him have power to remove his subordinates, being required to publicly assign his reason.'

"He further declared: 'The members of the Common Council in New York will exert all the influence over appointments which is consistent with the public good, without having the legal power of appointment, *or any part of it*, vested in their hands.'

"In 1876, after four added years of reflection and observation, he said, in a public address, when suggesting a scheme of municipal government: 'Have, therefore, no provision in your charter requiring the consent of the Common Council to the mayor's appointments of heads of departments; *that only opens the way for dictation by the Council or for bargains*. This is not the way to get good men nor to fix the full responsibility for mal-administration upon the people's chosen prime minister.'

"These are the utterances of one who during two terms had been mayor of the city of New York, and for two terms recorder of that city; and who for four years had been governor of the State.

"No testimony, it seems to me, could be more satisfactory and convincing.

"It is objected that this bill does not go far enough, and that there should be a re-arrangement of the terms of these officers; also that some of them should be made elective. This is undoubtedly true; and I shall be glad to approve further judicious legislation supplementary to this, which shall make the change more valuable, and surround it with safeguards in the interests of the citizens. But such further legislation should be well digested and conservative, and above all not proposed for the purpose of gaining a mere partisan advantage.

"I have not referred to the pernicious practices, which the present mode of making appointments in the city of

New York engenders, nor in the constantly recurring bad results for which it is responsible. They are in the plain sight of every citizen of the State.

"I believe the change made by the provisions of this bill gives opportunity for an improvement in the administration of municipal affairs; and I am satisfied that the measure violates no right of the people of the locality affected, which they now enjoy. But the best opportunities will be lost and the most perfect plan of city government will fail, unless the people recognize their responsibilities and appreciate and realize the privileges and duties of citizenship. With the most carefully devised charter, and with all the protection which legislative enactments can afford them, the people of the city of New York will not secure a wise and economical rule until those having the most at stake determine to actively interest themselves in the conduct of municipal affairs.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Other measures followed, looking to the correction of abuses in county and city offices. Among these was the "county clerk's bill, providing that in lieu of the fees received by the county clerk, estimated as high as \$100,000 per year by some, the clerk shall receive a salary of \$15,000 per year; that all fees heretofore collected under authority of law for the county clerk shall be accounted for and paid monthly into the treasury of the city and county of New York; fixing the amount of fees that shall be collected; and providing safeguards and penalties for the proper transaction of business. This bill the governor signed promptly.

There was also the "sheriff's bill," taking from the board of aldermen the authority of regulating the compensation of that officer, and placing it in the hands of the board of estimates and apportionment. This was signed by the governor.

Then came some loosely drawn bills, intended to accomplish similar reforms in the offices of the county register and the surrogate. These bills, when the governor came to examine, were in such shape that he could not sign them, their defects defeating their purpose. Fortunately they had been received in the executive chamber while the Legislature was yet in session, when they could yet be recalled, and when their defects could be remedied.

Consequently the governor addressed a message to the Assembly, where the bills originated, asking their recall and amendment. The bills were recalled and amended, but in so unsatisfactory a manner that, while feeling constrained to sign them, the governor filed a memorandum stating his reasons for doing so.

In the case of the two other bills passed in the line of reform in the city of New York, Governor Cleveland refused his approval. These were known as the "tenure of office bill" and the "park commission bill." These reached the governor's hands after the Legislature had adjourned, and there being no opportunity for amendment he was compelled to refuse his approval, for reasons given in a memorandum filed with the surrogate's bill. The nature of these bills, and the causes of their failure to receive the governor's signature, are clearly stated in this document, which is given herewith :

"STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

"ALBANY, June 14, 1884.

"Memorandum filed with the approval of Assembly bill No. 466, entitled 'An act in relation to the office of the register of the city and county of New York.'

"This bill, together with Assembly bill No. 467, entitled 'An act in relation to the office of surrogate of the county of New York,' which is also this day approved,

came to my hands originally during the session of the Legislature and prior to the twelfth day of May last.

"Upon examining these two bills, I discovered certain defects and errors of so much importance that on the day last mentioned I addressed a message to the Assembly calling attention to the imperfections in the bills, and suggesting that they should be recalled for amendment.

"This course was adopted by the Assembly, and certain amendments were made, after which they were again returned to me for my approval.

"I think they are still defective, in that while they oblige the city to pay certain salaries to the officers therein named, and profess to make all fees earned by them payable to the city, they permit these officers to turn over accounts against parties for whom official services are rendered instead of the fees in cash.

"But inasmuch as these deficiencies are not fatal, I waive my objections based thereon and construe the fact that they were not remedied, though attention was particularly called to them, as proof that the Legislature differed with me as to the expediency of making the change.

"Among other errors, however, which were considered by all interested of sufficient importance to make necessary the recall and amendment of these bills, was one occurring in that relating to the office of register, which limited the performance of certain important duties only to the immediate successor of the present incumbent.

"In the message to the Assembly above referred to, after suggesting the recall of the bills for amendment, the following language was used: 'I am led to make this suggestion for the reason that these bills belong to a class of remedial measures of great importance, and from the enactment of which valuable reforms are anticipated. It is manifest that their good effect should not be jeopardized or diminished by

imperfections in their form or by the omission of any provisions which tend to make them complete and effective.'

"And the message concluded in the following words: 'I have not had an opportunity to examine the other bills in my hands, similar to those referred to, relating to the public offices in the city of New York, with such care as is necessary, to determine whether they contain similar imperfections. I recommend that bills Nos. 466 and 467, which are above referred to, be recalled for amendment. And in view of the near approach of the final adjournment of the Legislature, I suggest that the other bills of a like character be also recalled or carefully examined by some party familiar with the subjects they embrace, so that fatal defects shall not be discovered when it is too late for amendment.'

"Notwithstanding this express warning, there are two bills now in my hands which are connected in purpose and general design with those last referred to, which are so seriously imperfect that I have determined not to approve them. One of these is a Senate bill entitled 'An act to fix and regulate the terms of office of certain public officers in the city of New York,' which contains the same vice in an exaggerated form that caused the recall and amendment of the bill relating to the register. It absolutely makes no provision for the appointment of any officer or head of department after the immediate successors to those now in office.

"And the second section provides that 'the mayor of the city of New York, to be elected at the general election in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-four, shall, within thirty days after the commencement of the term for which he is elected, appoint successors to each *office*, commissioner and head of department, who may be appointed during the remainder of the term for which the present mayor of the city was elected; and the persons so appointed shall hold office for the same terms respectively that those officers,

commissioners and heads of departments whom they succeed would have held office if this act had not been enacted, provided that any commissioner or head of department appointed under the provisions of this act, shall not hold office for any longer term or period than the term of office of the mayor by whom such commissioners or head of departments shall be appointed, and thirty days thereafter.'

"Section third repeals all acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

"It will be seen at a glance that this bill does not purport to 'fix and regulate' the terms of all appointive offices, but only such as shall be appointed during the remainder of the term of the present mayor *and their immediate successors*. And it will be observed that the next mayor can only appoint successors to such officers as shall be appointed by the present mayor *during the remainder of his term*. I think the evident intention of the bill would be entirely defeated if the mayor now in office should allow the present incumbents to hold over till the expiration of his term instead of appointing others in their places.

"When the bill attempts to fix the terms of the appointees of the next mayor it would seem to provide in the same sentence for two limitations to such terms—that is, four years from the first day of May, 1885, as provided by the present law, and one year and eleven months from February 1st, 1885.

"I observe, too, that the last limitation only applies to 'commissioners and heads of departments,' the word 'officers' having been omitted, though it is embraced in the other limitation.

"Of all the defective and shabby legislation which has been presented to me, this is the worst, and most inexcusable, unless it be its companion, which is entitled 'An act to

provide for a more efficient government of the department of parks in the city of New York.'

"This bill provides that the terms of office of the present commissioners of the department of public parks, in the city of New York, and any of their successors who may be appointed by the present mayor, shall cease on the first day of February, 1885, and that in their place the mayor shall appoint, within ten days thereafter, three commissioners, one of whom shall serve for two years, one for four years, and one for six years; and that 'biennially thereafter the mayor shall appoint *one* commissioner of the department of public parks who shall hold his office for two, four or six years, as the term of the office becoming vacant shall require or until removed.'

"I confess I am utterly unable, after considerable study, to determine when the terms of any appointees after the first would terminate, or how the department could be long continued with three members, under the provisions of this bill.

"In 1887 the shortest term of these officers would expire and a commissioner should be appointed. What length of time for the new commissioner does the office becoming vacant 'require?' I think the language of the bill can be most reasonably answered by making another appointment for two years. If this was done, the new appointee's term would expire in 1889. But at that time the four years' term of an original appointee would also expire, making two offices to be then filled, while the mayor, by the bill, is limited to the appointment of one commissioner in that year.

"If it was intended to create a commission of three members, it is entirely evident that the term of all appointees, after the first, should have been for six years.

"Appreciating the litigation and the sacrifice of rights and interests which result from defective laws, I have earn-

estly tried, during my official term, to enforce care in their preparation. I am importuned every day to allow laws to go upon the statute book which are mischievously imperfect, but which are deemed good enough to promote the purposes of interested parties. It is not pleasant, constantly, to refuse such applications, but I conceive it my duty to do so.

"Though the purposes of these bills are supposed to be in the public interest, and though their failure may be a disappointment to many, I do not see that I should allow them to breed dispute and litigation touching important public offices, and to be made troublesome precedents to encourage careless and vicious legislation.

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

These reasons were so conclusive that the author of these bills, Mr. F. M. Scott of New York, wrote to the Times of that city, saying :

"As the draughtsman of the original tenure of office act, and one of its most ardent supporters, I am constrained to agree with Governor Cleveland that in the shape in which it reached him it was a very shabby piece of legislation, quite unfit to find a place in the statute-book. As to the park commissioners' bill, too, it was hastily and inconsiderately amended in the course of its passage through the Legislature, and was thereby quite as effectually spoiled as was the tenure of office act."

It will thus be seen that not only was Governor Cleveland a tower of strength to the reformers in the Legislature of 1884, but he was able to save them from their own mistakes.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Grover Cleveland's Miscellaneous Addresses.—His Power as an Orator.—Strong Thought rather than Rhetoric.—Address before the Irish Land League.—Protest against Minister Lowell's Treatment of American Citizens Imprisoned Abroad.—At the Oswegatchie Fair.—At the Albany High School.—At the New York Bar Association.—Before the Grand Army.

Governor Cleveland is not distinguished as an orator. The flowers and ornaments of rhetoric do not embellish his writings or his addresses. But the clear, strong thought that is found in all his utterances makes them valuable and has always commanded public attention.

While his State papers are models of strength and clearness, as well as of sound sense and honest purpose, his miscellaneous addresses are notable also for the exhibition of the same qualities. Governor Cleveland is an easy speaker and a pleasant one. He gives his audience ideas rather than figures of speech or elaborate expression; and while his style in speaking has grace and elegance, it is neither meretricious nor bombastic.

It was because of his well-known sympathy with the patriotic purposes of the Irish Land League that he was asked to introduce to the audience in St. Stephen's Hall, at Buffalo, the eloquent lecturer, Rev. Father Sheehy, on the fifth of December 1881. In presenting the lecturer, Mr. Cleveland said:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I desire to acknowledge the

honor you have conferred upon me by this call to the chair. My greatest regret is that I know so little of the conditions that have given birth to the land league. I know, in a general way, that it is designed to secure to Ireland those just and natural rights to which Irishmen are entitled. I understand also that these are to be obtained by peaceful measures and without doing violence to any just law of the land. This should meet with the support and countenance of every man who enjoys the privilege of American citizenship and lives under American laws. Our sympathy is drawn out by a bond of common manhood. We are here to-night to welcome an apostle of this cause, one who can, from personal experience, recount the scenes of that troubled isle; who can tell us the risks that are taken and the pains that are suffered by those who lead the van in this great movement. I congratulate you upon having Father Sheehy with you to-night, and I will not delay the pleasure of his presentation to you."

In the following year, when the pusillanimous conduct of Minister Lowell in relation to the imprisonment of American citizens in Great Britain was so indignantly resented by our people, Mayor Cleveland was chosen to preside at a mass meeting held in St. James' Hall, Buffalo, to protest against the course of the representative of the United States in England. His address on this occasion was all fire and fervor. On taking the chair he said:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS.—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen.

"From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages, and entitled to the full protection of the State. The

defense and protection of personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government.

“And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this—the best and freest of them all; for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we chose those who, for the time being, shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

“And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native-born American citizen enjoys his birthright. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the old world, and invited hither its emigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow-citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the virgin fields to-day;

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other state, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accepted their fealty and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

“And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demand that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere

which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions.

"It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that 'all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,' to voice the policy of our nation.

"In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization.

At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia, or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England.

"We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom, and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination or trial, is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute.

"We have met here to-night to consider this subject, and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the government shall

act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government.

"The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded : 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?'

"So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization : 'Is it lawful that these, our fellows, be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?'

"I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting, and I thank you for it.

Of a different character were his addresses on occasions of less weighty moment, although in all cases he displayed an earnestness of thought which gives a peculiar interest to even his lightest address. At the Oswegatchie fair, at Ogdensburg, in October, 1883, Governor Cleveland, having been invited to address the people, spoke as follows :

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—When I received the invitation of the president of this fair to be with you to-day, I could hardly see my way to accept, because I find that the duties of the office to which I have been called are of such a nature that I can scarcely do all that crowds upon me, with quite constant attention. But the more I considered the question of visiting you the stronger the desire became to accept the invitation. I remembered that I had never been here but once, many years ago, and then for only a night. I wanted to know more of the largest county in the State. I wanted to see your thriving and pleasant city. I thought of the opportunity I should have of seeing something of the kind and quality of your products ; and, more than all, I wanted to see and become better acquainted with the people here, who, from lack of familiarity, seemed so

far away. And then, too, I reflected that I was the servant of the people of the State ; and inasmuch as they could not all come to see how their servants are doing their duty, it is no more than right that these servants should occasionally go to their masters and report—or at least answer to their names. Thus I am here ; but I came upon the express condition that I shall not make a speech. And the little talk I may have here with my friends of St. Lawrence county I do not regard as either a speech or an address.

“Broad fields, well tilled, not only secure comfort and an income to the farmer, but build up the commerce of the State and easily supply the wants of the population. None of these things result except by labor. This is the magic wand whose touch creates wealth and a great State. So all of us who work are, in our several ways, engaged in building to a higher reach and nobler proportions the fabric of a proud commonwealth. Those who make and execute the laws join with those who toil from day to day with their hands in their several occupations, all alike engaged in building up and protecting the State.

“The institution of fairs such as this must, it seems to me, have a wholesome and beneficial effect. In addition to the competition engendered, which spurs to more effort and better methods, the opportunity is afforded to profit by the experience of others. The State has shown an appreciation of the value of experiment in agriculture, by establishing and maintaining at considerable expense a farm for the express purpose of devising and proving the value of new plans and operations in farming. The results are freely offered to all ; and thus the farmer may gain a knowledge of methods which will render his labor more profitable, without the risk of loss in the time which he himself might spend in experiment. I have no doubt that the soil of the State of New York is tilled well and intelligently. And

still I suppose much of our farming might be improved by a closer regard to successful experiment, and by learning the lessons of approved science as applied to agriculture. I do not fear, however, that the farmers of New York will stop short of the highest excellence. The people of this State are not given to that.

"While I, in this manner, urge you to claim from the soil all it has to yield, by the aid of intelligent efforts in its cultivation, I cannot refrain from reminding you that, as citizens, you have something else to do. You have the responsibility of citizenship upon you, and you should see to it that you do your duty to the State, not only by increasing its wealth by the cultivation and improvement of the soil, but by an intelligent selection of those who shall act for you in the enactment and execution of your laws. Weeds and thistles, if allowed in your fields, defeat your toil and efforts. So abuses in the administration of your government lead to the dishonor of your State, choke and thwart the wishes of the people and waste their substance.

"I have heard it said that a farm or business never does better than when it is managed by its owner.

"So it is with your government. It accomplishes its purposes and operates well only when it is managed by the people and for the people. It was designed and constructed to be used in just this way. None of you would attempt to turn the soil of a field without putting a strong hand on the plow. A plow was constructed to be thus operated, and it can do its work in no other way. The machinery of the government will not do its work unless the strong, steady hands of the people are put upon it. This is not done when the people say that politics is a disgraceful game, and should be left untouched by those having private concerns and business which engage their attention. This neglect serves to give over the most important interests to those who

care but little for their protection, and who are willing to betray their trust for their own advantage.

“Manifestly, in this manner, the people can only act through agents of their selection. But that selection should be freely and intelligently made by the careful exercise of their suffrages.

“I have said this duty should not be neglected. A careless or mistaken performance may be as fatal as neglect. All cannot personally know the applicants for office; but by careful inquiry their characters for fair dealing and honesty, and the manner in which they have fulfilled the ordinary duties of life, may be discovered, as well as the ability they have shown in the management of their own affairs. Do their neighbors and those who know them well trust them, and are they willing to put in their hands important interests? Are their personal habits and their personal and private relations good, and pure, and clean?

“I believe that in the selection of those who shall act for the people in the government a better rule cannot be adopted than the one suggested by these inquiries.

“If they are answered satisfactorily, the people will probably conclude that they have found the men they wish to put in public places, even though they lack a knowledge of the arts and wiles which tricksters use to deceive and mislead.

“Be diligent, then, in your business, and willing and anxious to improve and expand it. This you owe to yourselves, to your families, and to the public. Be also diligent and careful in the performance of your political duty. This you owe none the less to yourselves and to the State.

“With every obligation thus discharged, your welfare and prosperity will be secured, and you may congratulate yourselves upon the honorable part you bear in the support and maintenance of a free and beneficent government.”

In a little off-hand speech to the pupils of the Albany high school, which he visited one day at the invitation of the principal, he said :

"I accepted the invitation of your principal to visit your school this morning with pleasure, because I expected to see much that would gratify and interest me. In this I have not been disappointed. But I must confess that if I had known that my visit here involved my attempting to address you, I should have hesitated, and quite likely have declined the invitation.

"I hasten to assure you now that there is not the slightest danger of my inflicting a speech upon you, and that I shall do but little more than to express my pleasure in the proof I have of the excellence of the methods and management of the school, and of the opportunities which those who attend have within their reach, of obtaining a superior education.

"I never visit a school in these days without contrasting the advantages of the scholar of to-day with those of a time not many years in the past. Within my remembrance even, the education which is freely offered you was only secured by those whose parents were able to send them to academies and colleges. And thus, when you entered this school very many of you began where your parents left off.

"The theory of the State in furnishing more and better schools for the children, is that it tends to fit them to better perform their duties as citizens, and that an educated man or woman is apt to be more useful as a member of the community.

"This leads to the thought that those who avail themselves of the means thus tendered them are in duty bound to make such use of their advantages as that the State shall receive in return the educated and intelligent citizens and members of the community which it has the right to expect

from its schools. You, who will soon be the men of the day, should consider that you have assumed an obligation to fit yourselves by the education which you may, if you will, receive in this school, for the proper performance of any duty of citizenship, and to fill any public station to which you may be called. And it seems to me to be none the less important that those who are to be the wives and mothers should be educated, refined and intelligent. To tell the truth, I should be afraid to trust the men, educated though they should be, if they were not surrounded by pure and true womanhood. Thus it is that you all, now and here, from the oldest to the youngest, owe a duty to the State which can only be answered by diligent study and the greatest possible improvement. It is too often the case that in all walks and places the disposition is to render the least possible return to the State for the favors which she bestows.

“If the consideration which I have mentioned fails to impress you, let me remind you of what you have often heard, that you owe it to yourselves, and the important part of yourselves, to seize while you may the opportunities to improve your minds, and store into them, for your own future use and advantage, the learning and knowledge now fairly within your reach.

“None of you desire or expect to be less intelligent or educated than your fellows. But unless the notions of scholars have changed, there may be those among you who think that in some way or manner, after the school day is over, there will be an opportunity to regain any ground now lost, and to complete an education without a present devotion to school requirements. I am sure this is a mistake. A moment's reflection ought to convince all of you that when you have once entered upon the stern, uncompromising and unrelenting duties of mature life, there will be no time for

study. You will have a contest then forced upon you which will strain every nerve and engross every faculty. A good education, if you have it, will aid you, but if you are without it you cannot stop to acquire it. When you leave the school you are well equipped for the van in the army of life or you are doomed to be a laggard, aimlessly and listlessly following in the rear.

"Perhaps a reference to truths so trite is useless here. I hope it is. But I have not been able to forego the chance to assure those who are hard at work that they will surely see their compensation, and those, if any such there are, who find school duties irksome, and neglect or slightly perform them; that they are trifling with serious things and treading on dangerous ground."

A more formal occasion was the annual meeting of the State Bar Association in New York, January 8, 1884. At this meeting were assembled the learning and the wit of the profession, statesmen, jurists, legislators. Governor Cleveland presided over this distinguished gathering, and on opening the talk he said :

"GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATION.—At a late hour I was solicited to preside at your meeting. I should certainly have felt that I must decline the invitation, but for two considerations. I was assured that no address would be expected of me, and that even a little speech on assuming the chair, might be dispensed with. This disposed of one objection to my consent. The other consideration sprang up in my mind when I reflected that there would be here an assemblage of my professional brethren, and the impulse was irresistible to be among them for a time, though necessarily brief, and to feel about me the atmosphere from which, for a twelvemonth, I have been excluded. I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that in the crowd of official duties which for the past year have surrounded me, I have never lost sight of the guild to which

I am proud to belong, nor have I lost any of my love and care for the noble profession I have chosen. On the contrary, as I have seen the controlling part which the lawyers of the State assumed in the enacting of her laws, and in all other works that pertain to her progress and her welfare, I have appreciated more than ever the value and the usefulness of the legal profession. And when I have seen how generally my professional brethren have been faithful to their public trusts, my pride has constantly increased.

“And yet, from the outside world I come within the grateful circle of professional life, to say to you that much is to be done before the bar of this State will, in all its parts, be what we all could wish. We hold honorable places, but we hold places of power—if well used to protect and save our fellows—if prostituted and badly used to betray and destroy. It seems to me that a profession so high and noble in all the purposes of its existence, should be only high and noble in all its results. But we know it is not so. There is not a member of the bar in this assemblage who has not shuddered when he thought of the wicked things he had the power to safely do; and he has shuddered again when he recalled those whom he was obliged to call professional brothers, who needed but the motive to do these very things.

“An association like this to be really useful must be something more than a society devoted to laudation of the profession. It should have duties to perform earnest in their nature, and not the less boldly met because they are disagreeable. Those who steal our livery to aid them in the commission of crime should be detected and exposed; and this association or branches of it should have watchmen on the walls to protect the honor and fair fame of the bar of the State.

“Your words are fair, when in your constitution you declare the objects of this association to be ‘to elevate the

standard of integrity, honor and courtesy in the legal profession;' and I have no doubt you have done much in that direction, but I hope I may be pardoned for reminding you here that frequently, to insure health and vigor, the bad, diseased limbs of the tree must be lopped off.

"My thought has carried me further than I intended. Be assured, I have spoken in no censorious spirit. I congratulate the State Bar Association on all it has done, and for one am determined to aid its work as well during my temporary professional exile as when I shall again gladly mingle in the contests of the bar."

On the Fourth of July, 1884, there was a notable gathering of the Grand Army of the Republic at Buffalo, the occasion being the unvailing of the Soldiers' Monument in that city. The ceremonies of dedication were followed by a banquet, at which Governor Cleveland was called upon to respond to the toast, "The State of New York." He said:

"I am almost inclined to complain because the sentiment to which I am requested to respond is not one which permits me to speak at length of the city which, for more than twenty-nine years, has been my home. You bid me speak of the State, while everything that surrounds me and all that has been done to-day, reminds me of other things. I cannot fail to remember most vividly, to-night, that exactly two years ago I felt that much of the responsibility of a certain celebration rested on my shoulders. I suppose there were others who did more than I to make the occasion a success, but I know that I considered myself an important factor, and that, when after weeks of planning and preparation, the day came and finally passed, I felt as much relieved as if the greatest effort of my life had been a complete success.

"On that day we laid the corner-stone of the monument

which has to-day been unveiled in token of its completion. We celebrated, too, the semi-centennial of our city's life. I was proud then to be its chief executive, and everything connected with its interests and prosperity was dear to me. To-night I am still proud to be a citizen of Buffalo, and my fellow-townsmen cannot, if they will, prevent the affection I feel for my city and its people.

"But my theme is a broader one, and one that stirs the heart of every citizen of the State.

"The State of New York, in all that is great, is easily the leader of all the States. Its history is filled with glorious deeds and its life is bound up with all that makes the nation great. From the first of the nation's existence, our State has been the constant and generous contributor to its life and growth and vigor.

"But to the exclusion of every other thought to-night, there is one passage in the history of the State that crowds upon my mind.

"There came a time when discord reached the family circle of States, threatening the nation's life. Can we forget how wildly New York sprang forward to protect and preserve what she had done so much to create and build up? Four hundred and fifty thousand men left her borders to stay the tide of destruction.

"During the bloody affray which followed, nearly fourteen thousand and five hundred of her sons were killed in battle or died of wounds. Their bones lie in every State where the war for the Union was waged. Add to these nearly seventeen thousand and five hundred of her soldiers, who, within that sad time, died of disease, and then contemplate the pledges of New York's devotion to a united country, and the proofs of her faith in the supreme destiny of the sisterhood of States.

"And there returned to her thousands of her sons who

fought and came home laden with the honors of patriotism, many of whom still survive, and, like the minstrels of old, tell us of heroic deeds and battles won, which saved the nation's life.

"When our monument, which should commemorate the sufferings and death of their comrades was begun, the veterans of New York were here. To-day they come again and view complete its fair proportions, which in the years to come shall be a token that the patriotic dead are not forgotten.

"The State of New York is rich in her soldier dead, and she is rich in her veterans of the war. Those who still survive, and the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, hold in trust for the State blessed memories which connect her with her dead; and these memories we know will be kept alive and green.

"Long may the State have her veterans of the war; and long may she hold them in grateful and chastened remembrance. And as often as her greatness and her grandeur are told, let these be called the chief jewels in her crown."

These occasional addresses of Governor Cleveland, on topics other than legislation and government, show the thoughtful, earnest man. They are not the display pieces of a rhetorician. They have ideas. They are like the man himself, plain and honest, and very much to the point.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Set of the Popular Tide.—Grover Cleveland the Candidate of the People.—The Representative Man for the Time.—Reform the Watchword.—Independent Republicans Favor Cleveland.—The Eve of the Democratic Convention.

Long before the time set for the meeting of the National Democratic Convention at Chicago, the tide of popular opinion was seen to be strongly setting toward Grover Cleveland. Then was presented a remarkable spectacle in our national politics. It was that of the choice of a party candidate, not by the usual party methods, not by the manipulations of party managers, not by the zealous efforts of personal friends, but by the growth of an earnest sentiment among the people, spreading from one end of the land to the other.

For Grover Cleveland was in fact the candidate of the people before he became the candidate of the Democratic party. Seldom, if ever before, has such a spontaneous concentration of popular preferences upon any one man for the great office of President of these United States been seen in our history. Never before has it been known in the case of a candidate who for the first time was associated with that office. It was seen in the nomination of Lincoln for a second term. It seemed to be present in Grant's second nomination, through the efforts of the multitude of indefatigable workers in his interest. But now, for the first time in our history, did the popular sense pick

out the man for the place with such unanimity from the number, not of national politicians or statesmen, but from men who had won their laurels and made their reputations in the field of local government. The nearest approach to this situation was seen in the nomination of Governor Tilden, eight years before; yet, in the case of Mr. Tilden there was by no means such a unanimity of thought among the people as that which foreshadowed the coming of Governor Cleveland's candidacy.

The cause of this was the simple fact that Governor Cleveland, perhaps more than any other man, represented, in his character and his career, the ideas which the people wanted to see prevail in our National Government. Every one, everywhere, had become weary of the old ways—tired of government for the sake of the office-holders; sick of miserable compromises and expedients in public administration. And every one saw in Governor Cleveland a clean, strong man, fresh and fearless, pledged by his record to honest, practical reform, and possessed of pluck enough to make his record good in a wider and more important field.

So it was that the people's eyes turned toward the man at Albany, and their preferences found voice on every hand. They were looking for a President who should be in full sympathy with the advanced thought of the day, and with the reformed methods of administration which have come to be approved in theory, although so comparatively seldom put in practice; and they found, in the successful executive of the Municipal Government of Buffalo and the State Government of New York, the official who had defied rings, and factions, and cabals, the man whom they wanted for higher and greater work.

Not the least singular feature of the situation was the fact that the voice of the strongest partisan Democrats was also the voice of that large section of the Republican party

which sought real reform in the Government. Indeed, the more loudly outspoken members of the dissatisfied wing of the Republican party openly proclaimed for Governor Cleveland as their choice for the Presidency, recognizing in him those sterling qualities which make the statesman rather than the politician.

No doubt, the urgency with which these gentlemen and the independent press expressed their preferences had much to do with the spread of the Cleveland uprising. It could not be otherwise. But while such preferences, if expressed by party antagonists for a weak man, would drive away from his support the members of his own party, in Governor Cleveland's case they only served to emphasize and indorse the choice which the Democratic public had already made.

Thus it was that the name of Grover Cleveland was most prominently and favorably passed upon by the people before the Convention met. And it is in no way derogatory to the character or merits of the many strong statesmen whose names were mentioned in different sections, that this should be the case. Bayard, Thurman, Hendricks, Randall, Carlisle, McDonald—all were good men, able men, whom the people have come to trust through the experience of years of able and faithful service. It was not because none of these true and tried statesmen could be trusted in this crisis that they failed to receive the wonderful popular support which was Governor Cleveland's fortune. It was because, in a peculiar way, Governor Cleveland filled just the place in the popular thought which was required to be filled at this time. And he filled it fully and brilliantly.

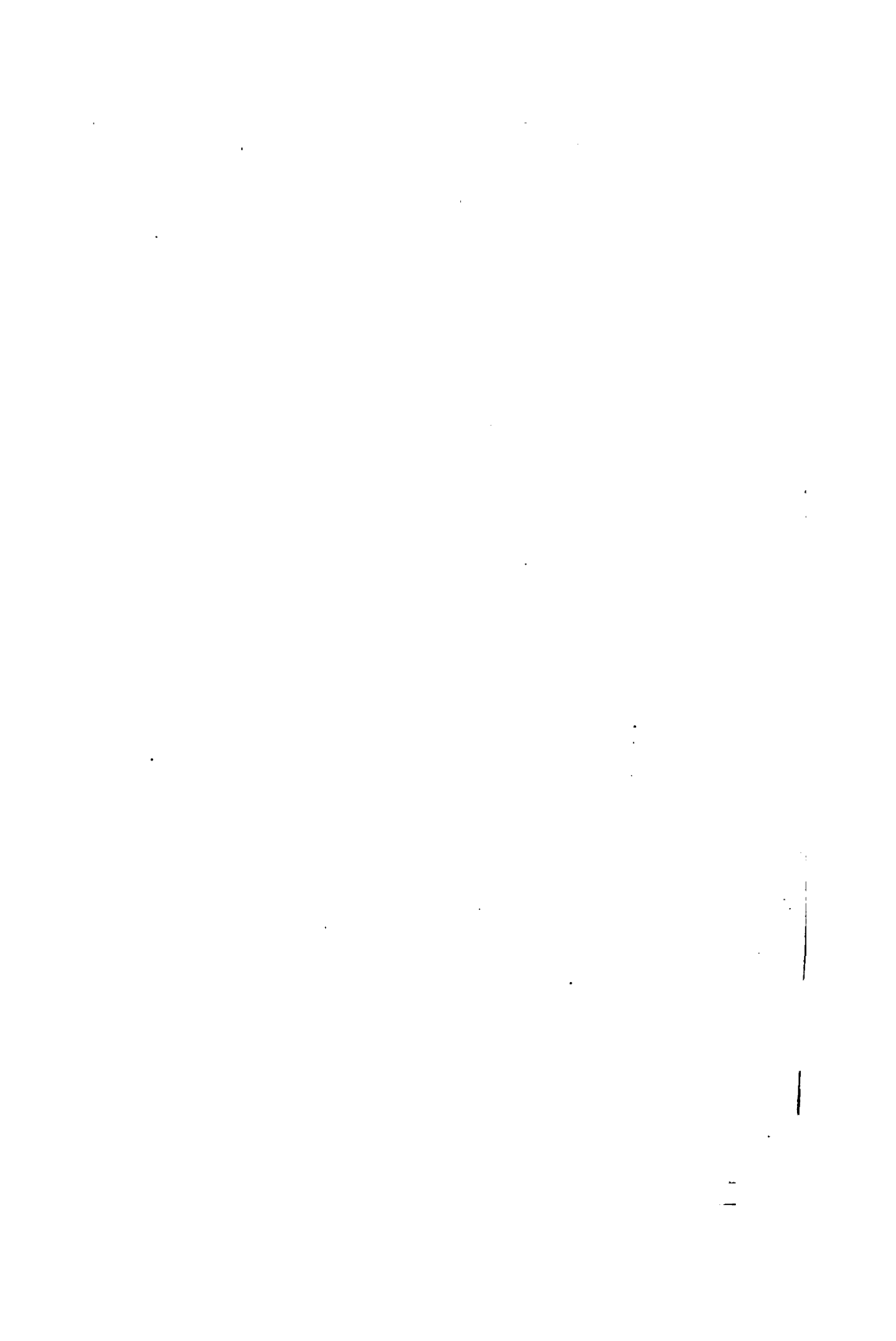
More than this; there is a something mysterious in the growth and movement of great, popular ideas, which cannot be fully explained. And this mysterious quality, causing men in widely separated parts of the land to think in the same way at the same time, was a peculiar feature of the

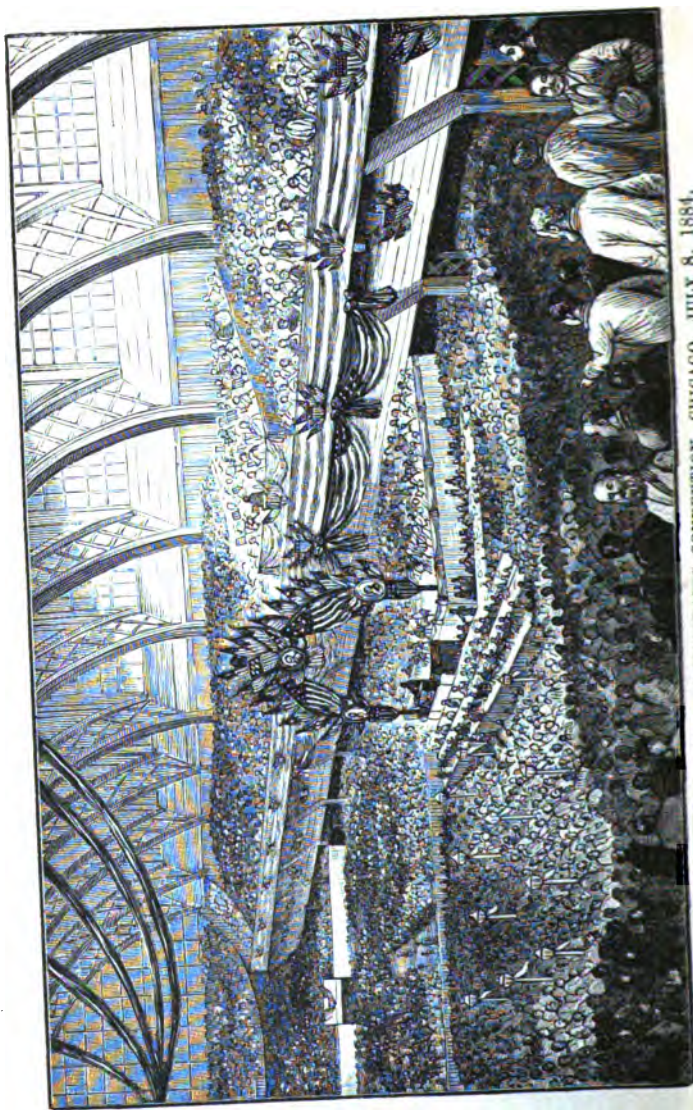
popular movement for Cleveland. The name of the New York Governor was mentioned only to capture the popular mind. In no one of the States, not even excepting those which had "favorite sons," was he without strong advocates; while in the favor of the people, as expressed on many an occasion, he stood higher than on the books of the political managers.

There seemed to be no need of effort on the part of Governor Cleveland's friends to manufacture sentiment in his favor. It sprang up here, there, and everywhere, with a spontaneity that was magical. No political combinations were entered into; no factitious means were employed to give him notoriety; no promises were made for sectional or partisan support. His character, his career, impressed themselves on the public mind so that all who were looking for better things in our government recognized in Grover Cleveland the man for the hour.

As the time for holding the Democratic Convention approached, the existence of this wide-spread popular desire for Cleveland's nomination became more and more clearly apparent. Yet at the same time the efforts of the special friends of other good and able men in the Democratic party had produced a number of strong candidates to contest the favor of the Convention. There was not one of these who did not deserve well of the country and of the party. They were all experienced public men and statesmen of high rank. But in no case were they the objects of such general popular favor as that which urged upon the Convention the nomination of Governor Cleveland.

And so, while the decision of the chosen representatives of the Democracy was yet to be made, the people had already in their hearts chosen Grover Cleveland as the man of all men best fitted to carry out their will. He was nominated by the great American people before the party convention met.





VIEW IN THE HALL.—DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, CHICAGO, JULY 8, 1884.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Gathering of the Convention.—Description of the Exposition Building.—A Distinguished Assemblage.—The Convention Opened.—Address of Governor Hubbard.—The Unit Rule.—A Test Vote.—Close of the First Day's Proceedings.

On Tuesday, the eighth day of July, 1884, the representatives of the Democracy of the United States gathered at the Lake City for the great work for which they had been chosen.

The Exposition Building at Chicago is on the lake shore, an immense structure, furnishing an auditorium of a magnitude fitting for the decision of a Nation's destinies.

By a singular coincidence, the two great political parties this year held their conventions in the same city and in the same building, but since the date of the Republican Convention, the Exposition Building had been refitted and decorated, changes made in the placing of the platform and seats for delegates, and the arrangements for spectators shifted. Here, upon the banks of the great inland sea, in a building whose magnitude expressed the growth and the ambition of the resources of the central city of the continent, with the national colors floating in broad stripes of red, white and blue overhead and festooning pillars and galleries, and with a vast crowd of eagerly interested citizens as an audience, swarming on every hand, the Convention met.

The assembly was slow in gathering, and by noon the auditorium was not more than half filled. But when Chair-

man Barnum, of the National Committee, called the Convention to order, at 12.40, there was not a vacant seat in all the hall.

It was, indeed, a majestic picture. Midway, on the west side of the hall, was the main platform, raised above its surroundings. Just below this, extending on either side, were the tables assigned to the representatives of the press, rising in tiers from the floor to the platform. Below, in twenty rows, stretched the seats for the delegates, each State having its location marked by an appropriate banner. The States were arranged alphabetically, Alabama having the cluster of seats on the left of the hall, Maine the central station, and North Carolina the right, facing the platform. New York's seventy-two delegates filled the six rear rows of the central division.

To the right and left of the delegates were the seats for the spectators, sloping upward to a height of thirty feet from the floor level. This great amphitheater was filled, at the opening of the Convention, with an interested and eager assembly, in holiday attire, and over all the vast multitude of men and women, on earnest purpose bent, the great windows that flanked and crowned the magnificent hall shed a flood of light, tempered, but not dimmed, by the clouds which obscured the direct rays of the sun.

The grand effect of this massing of human beings was felt by every spectator of the brilliant and inspiring scene; and as, from time to time, a wave of enthusiasm or excitement would pass over the assemblage, it was as though it were one soul, with ten thousand voices to cheer, and ten thousand tongues to shout.

The eight hundred and twenty delegates who filled the seats in the center of the body of the hall, comprised in their number a remarkably full representation of the distinguished men of the Democratic party, and others were pres-

ent, either as alternates or as spectators. Wade Hampton of South Carolina, Vance of North Carolina, Beck and Williams of Kentucky, McPherson of New Jersey, Gorman of Maryland, Farley of California, Lamar of Mississippi, Call of Florida, Harris of Tennessee, Voorhees and Hendricks of Indiana, Pendleton and Thurman of Ohio were among those of Senatorial rank. Of Congressmen, Morrison of Illinois, Campbell and Hewitt of New York, Warner and Converse of Ohio, Mutchler of Pennsylvania, and Barbour of Virginia were among the delegates, while scores of yet more distinguished members of the Lower House were to be found outside the seats of the active members of the Convention.

It was in every way a representative gathering; and as the audience from time to time observed the entrance of some more distinguished man or some popular favorite, the applause would rise and roll about the amphitheater, first like the patter of a summer shower and then rising to the roar of a hurricane. When the familiar features of Thurman of Ohio were recognized, there was a storm of cheers, amid which an enthusiastic member from California arose and shouted: "The California delegation, after traveling 2,500 miles, catches its first glimpse of Paradise in the person of Allan G. Thurman." In the same manner Wade Hampton, Hendricks and other well-known men were made the occasion of jubilant demonstrations on their entrance.

Finally, the rap of the gavel of the Chairman of the national committee stilled the assembly and proclaimed the Convention open. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. D. C. Marquis of the Northwestern Theological Seminary. He prayed for "a blessing on this great assembly of representative citizens; that they should be endowed plentifully with that wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be entreated; that nothing should be done

through strife or vain jealousy, but that they should be filled with that charity which is not puffed up, and doth not behave itself unseemly." He prayed that their deliberations might be guided to such conclusions as would best promote the glory of God and the welfare of the nation.

Mr. Barnum then said :

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : Harmony seems to be the sentiment of this Convention ; even the air seems saturated with a desire and determination to nominate a ticket for President and Vice-President which will be satisfactory to the North and to the South, to the East and to the West ; nay, more, a ticket that will harmonize the Democracy throughout the union, and insure victory in November. Harmony prevailed in the deliberations of the national committee. No effort was made to nominate a temporary chairman in the interest of any candidate, but on the contrary it was the desire to nominate one who shall preside over the deliberations of this Convention with absolute impartiality. In that spirit, and to that end, I have been directed by the unanimous vote of the national committee to name Hon. Richard B. Hubbard of Texas for temporary chairman of this Convention.

Governor Hubbard was unanimously chosen temporary chairman and was escorted to the chair amid much applause. He is a tall, fine-looking man, fully six feet in height, with iron-gray whiskers and hair. He is a native of Georgia, but has resided in Texas for thirty-two years, where he is a successful lawyer and has been chosen Lieutenant-Governor for two terms. He is an eloquent speaker and a fine parliamentarian.

On taking the chair, Governor Hubbard gave thanks for the honor done him, which he said he accepted not as a tribute to himself but as a compliment to the great State from which he came, a State which was absolutely cosmo-

politan in every fiber. The Democratic party in all its elements was the same as it was when founded, by the framers of the Constitution, nearly three-quarters of a century ago. Men died, as the leaves in autumn, but the principles underlying liberty and self-government were eternal; and the principles that underlie the Democratic party could not perish from the earth, although their authors might cease to be. The Democratic party was to-day as much a party organized for aggressive war as when victory perched upon its banners. The Democratic party has now the House of Representatives, and would have the Senate but for treason in the Senate Chamber itself. It would have had the Presidency, too, but for the hands of robbers, who struck down the express will of the people by means of perjury, bribery, and corruption.

That stealing of the Presidency was the greatest crime in history. The great leaders of the party (Tilden and Hendricks), with the dignity which became heroic statesmen and patriots, had submitted with the courage of men who love their country better than self and power. The Democratic party now would put forward candidates whose names would be in themselves a platform. It wanted a platform, too, that would speak, and in no doubtful tones. It should declare against corruption in the Government, against the enormities of the civil service, against the so-called department of justice, against the abuses of the postal service, against robbery in high places; and that the hundred millions of surplus revenue should not be allowed to accumulate. In conclusion, he urged that whatever candidates were nominated should be supported loyally, declaring that he who would not support them would not be a good Democrat, and hardly a patriot.

The sonorous voice and deliberate articulation of the temporary chairman sent every syllable of his opening ad-

dress to the furthestmost limits of the great hall, and he was heard and applauded and cheered at every period. His allusion to the campaign of 1876, and to Tilden and Hendricks, roused the Convention to intense enthusiasm, and the delegates, rising to their feet, cheered themselves hoarse.

The Convention then proceeded to its work, the temporary organization being completed and the rules for the government of its proceedings being adopted. Thus early in course of the Convention it was made evident that the opposition to the nomination of Governor Cleveland would not be inactive; and its activity took the shape at this stage of a motion by Mr. Grady of the New York delegation, to abolish what is known as the "unit rule." That is to say, the New York convention had instructed the delegates from that State to cast the seventy-two votes of the delegation as a whole for the candidate on whom the majority of the delegation should decide. The majority of the New York delegates favored the nomination of Grover Cleveland; a minority, representing the Tammany organization, were opposed to his candidacy. Hence the motion of Mr. Grady, that the Convention should absolve the New York delegation from the obligation to obey the instructions received from their State. After discussion, the Convention refused the request, the vote standing 322 yeas to 463 nays.

This was the first test of the sentiment of the Convention toward the candidate whom popular preference had named; and out of the 820 delegates, with only seven refraining from voting, it was seen that he had a large majority. The Convention then adjourned for the day.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Second Day.—Permanent Organization of the Convention.—Address of Chairman Vilas.—Calling the Roll of States for Nominations.—The Names of Bayard, McDonald, Thurman, and Carlisle presented.—Hon. Daniel Lockwood nominates Grover Cleveland.—A Scene of Wild Enthusiasm.—Speech of E. K. Appar of New York.

The second day of the Convention was devoted to the permanent organization and presentation of candidates. The temporary chairman rapped to order at 11 o'clock, and prayer was offered by Right Rev. Bishop McLaren of the diocese of Chicago. He prayed that the proceedings might be tempered by the sober contemplation of the future, so that future generations might enjoy the results of law and regulated liberty, and not have to suffer the consequences of a rash disregard of the eternal laws of God; that the influence of patriotism might be supreme in the Convention, and that all things might be done in it for the welfare of the land and the glory of God.

The permanent organization was effected by the choice of Colonel W. H. Vilas as Chairman, with the usual number of vice-presidents, one from each State, and several secretaries and assistants. Colonel Vilas commanded the 26th Wisconsin regiment during the war, and resides at the capital, Madison, where he has served in both branches of the Legislature. His début as an orator was made at the reunion of the army of the Tennessee, in this city, at the time of General Grant's return in 1879. The oration of

the Colonel was such a fine effort that Colonel Bob Ingersoll, who followed him, expressed fear that the effect of his own address would be injured. Colonel Vilas has since delivered two notable speeches before the Iroquois Club of Chicago, the subject of one being "Andrew Jackson."

Colonel Vilas made a telling speech on taking the chair, claiming the honor, not as due to himself, but as a recognition of the young Democracy of the Northwest. He said :

"GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY: I know full well that this mark of your favor is no personal compliment, but a recognition of the young Democracy of the Northwestern States. And I claim it to be justly their due as a tribute for their lofty zeal and patriotism, for their long and gallant struggle against an outnumbering foe, and for their great and growing numbers; and I hail it as a presage and a prototype of their coming triumphs. But I am proud, though honored beyond all deservings, in being selected as their representative, and I gratefully acknowledge my obligations and render you hearty thanks for the honor you have been pleased to confer. No pledge is necessary for the continuance of their devotion. As it has hitherto been, so will it abide in the contest now at hand—pure, unselfish, resolute, and unflinching till its great object shall be achieved in the restoration and security of the right and constitutional government.

"Fellow-delegates, you are assembled to consider a great cause, to pronounce a momentous judgment. Your hand is on the helm of a mighty nation of freemen. It is for you, by wise and far-reaching determination, to lay its future course in felicity for many years, freighted with a vast humanity in prosperous pursuit of happiness. Fifty-five millions of freemen who are, a hundred million who soon will be our nation—earth's greatest, noblest, free society—

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will rejoice in the well-considered work of its import and value lay not in the hope of victory—in clutching the spoils of office—opportunities of good to men. Liberty—constituted in the hour is pregnant with strangling in the surf of corruption, unjustism, cries aloud for resuscitation, for purification.

“An assemblage of politicians, such as an unlicensed power creates, but recently with clamor, and it is said to have been tured to be the product of infant industry. nounced their purposes, and they claim the country as if it were theirs to command. met the just expectation of this intelligent

“Like some corporations which have their auspices, they have issued a watered stock and every one a confession. They have only of disorders they have themselves commanded body politic. They proffer the infection to They have tendered nothing adequate or vent aspiration and high hopes of this patriotic people. To a country which rejoices in and concord they tender the renewal of sectional a nation which feels the impulse of a mighty years for leadership in noble prosperity, the spiration of national calamity and misfortune, and sensitive people demanding deliverance and corruption, demanding decency in business in holding their public stations, they arts of skillful demagoguery. To the generous nobly ambitious to achieve a freeman's manly for the elevating sentiments of the party men of toil, seeking only equal opportunities

man's livelihood, they cry, 'be your master's villain and you shall have bread.'

"The plan of their campaign is already made manifest. Shouting and, in common political parlance, soap, are its inspiration and ammunition. The boisterous cry of the drill-sergeant, the black-list for the hesitating, rewards to the willing, these the politicians share; while from the ranks of those who amass the fruits of others' labor, the copious streams of pecuniary persuasion will summon the base, or constant sophistries catch the ear of the weak and ignorant. The air already is filled with vapors of visionary schemes, addressed to various interests and factions of weak and undeserving men. Some are indulged to expect advantage from the chaotic possibilities of foreign war; others relief or gains, from legalized irruptions upon the National treasury. The history of republics will have been read in vain if such a prospect does not alarm and warn us.

"Twice already has Liberty sunk beneath the waves of fraud and venality. She has seen her chosen servants, her chosen high priests—chosen by a majority of votes exceeding all which were cast to elect Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison—I think I might add Monroe—displaced by chicane, and her people temporarily enslaved by fraudulent usurpers of their places. She has seen a National election perverted by the stream of money which flowed from gaping wounds at Washington. Can she rise a third time if again submerged by her enemies? Gentlemen, no patriot here can contemplate contemporaneous events without profound conviction that the duties of this hour rise far beyond partisanship.

"There is one supreme question before us, viz: How shall we most surely rescue the Republic? I know you will pardon me for saying it is no time for personal devotion or a personal canvass. No man has the slightest claim to our

personal preferences ; and no personal preference, no personal objection should weigh as a feather even against our resolute choice of such a ticket as will certainly unite all friends of constitutional liberty, purity, and reform in solid array for the coming contest. And this sentiment now animates the expectant hope which has turned to this convention from every quarter of the Union.

“A great change has been wrought in recent years in this country ; not alone in numbers, in personal and material characteristics, but also in the minds of the people and in the composition of its political forces. We have ceased to fight in fratricidal war. The sin of slavery has been purged. The crime of secession has been punished. Both are at an end ; and the shame and sorrows of both stand in memory only as safeguards for national justice, peace, and union forever. The remembered horrors of that dreadful hour of internecine conflict must stimulate suitable honors and rewards to the noble men whose lives were offered for their country’s salvation ; but this people will not go backward thither for animosities and springs of action to destroy the fruits of their labor and sacrifice.

“Our peace and concord, the embrace of friends after bitter war, the restored joy of happy liberty and enduring union are their highest honors ; the most noble chaplet that ever crowned a soldier’s memory. Who tears a scar to bleed again ? Who fans the dying spark of enmity and strips the tenderest leaves from that laureled wreath of glory ? And doubly wicked he who perils a nation’s peace and happiness to serve by such ends a vain ambition. The day for success in such attempts is past. A new generation is on the scene of action ; an educated, intelligent generation. They understand our institutions ; they comprehend the tremendous growth and capability of this country, and they accept the responsibilities which have devolved upon

them. Their realizing sense is keen, and the welfare and progress of this people demand, and have long demanded, an utter and radical change in the administration of the government.

"They have heard repeated promises of reform with each recurring election, and with disgrace and shame have witnessed each new administration discover deeper iniquities than those it promised to amend. There is a growing conviction that the one reform which will work all others, and is the condition of all, is the utter defeat of the present party in power.

"And there is but one hope ; it is vain to look to any new party organization ; the prosperity, progress, and hope of this Republic rest to-day upon the wisdom and patriotism of the Democracy now here in convention assembled. It is adequate to the great responsibility. It is the party which brings down the traditions and represents the principles upon which this government was founded as the homestead of equality and liberty. It is the party of Thomas Jefferson, of James Madison, of Andrew Jackson. As they taught and led it, it stands to-day the party of the people. For honesty, capability, and fidelity in their public servants, for strict principles of political economy in their public affairs, for encouragement of every art and industry, the development of trade and manufactures, with equal justice to all, it stands as they inspired it—the party of the people, for the generous diffusion of knowledge, the elevation of every man for common rights and equal opportunities for all ; the resolute enemy of monopoly, of class favoritism, of corporate oppression ; the friend of labor, the inspiration of youth, the nursery of freemen. It has, to be sure, the frailties and the faults of humanity. It has profited by the sweet uses of adversity, and it stands forth to-day with a disciplined patriotism fitted to invoke and receive the restoration of that power which for

half a century it wielded to the nation's grandeur and glory.

“More than 5,000,000 of adult freemen, a greater number than cast their ballots for Lincoln, Breckenridge, Douglas and Bell combined, constitute and compose this patriotic aggregation. For nearly twenty years it has been recruited steadily and constantly from the upright and fearless who, preferring the regards of self-respect to the allurements of power, have shaken the dust from their feet and departed from the Sodom of so-called Republicanism. It has exchanged for these the venal and time-serving of its own former possessions, who sought the spoils of office where they were to be found. It has received, and continually receives, new accessions of those who come in the same character which we have received before; and if there be any who cannot abide its high purposes, and fortitude, and ability to wait for the culmination of its principles, we are ready to continue a like exchange. It has enlisted the thought and power of the young manhood of this nation, and the spirit of victory rules its councils and rides in the front of its battles. The fatality of blundering has become a Republican possession; and the doom the gods award to folly let us pray may be theirs. The triumph of the Republic's hope cannot be longer stayed. A confident expectation may be placed in your wise deliberations. We may hope from your wisdom the first step to be taken, and to see again our nation restored to its equal station among the powers of the earth; to see its navy, public and commercial, again as of yore break the waves of every sea and spread its flag in every sky. We may hope to see the squandering of public wealth cease, Justice to take her place in our laws, regulating finance and economy. We may hope to see a Democratic people of equality, simplicity and frugality, where happiness is best to be found. And, as our millions

multiply, and the subdued earth yields its abundant wealth, while in every form art and industry employ their cheerful labor, the proudest boast of American citizenship shall rise not from the favored son of wealth, but from the manly freeman, who returns with the evening sun from his place of honored toil to the house which is his own, where the blossoming vine and rose bespeak the fragrant happiness of the loved ones at home.

"Gentlemen, in the arduous duties before me I implore your generous forbearance. I stand in greater need of your indulgent consideration by the comparison under which I must suffer with the brilliant services of the distinguished gentleman who has just quit this chair with the well-deserved plaudits of this Convention. I pledge you my utmost effort to administer my functions here with impartiality."

Following the address of the chairman, there were several resolutions presented, which were all referred to the committee having in charge the preparation of the platform, after which the business of the day began in the nomination of candidates for the consideration of the Convention. It was agreed that no vote for candidates for the presidency should be taken until after adoption of the platform, and the presentation of names was then begun. This was done, according to custom, by calling the roll of States, when, as called, each State had the privilege of presenting a candidate, in a speech delivered by one of its delegates appointed for that purpose.

The first State to respond to the call was Delaware, Attorney-General Grey ascending the platform and nominating Senator Bayard in an eloquent speech. He said he had been instructed to present the name of a man worthy to receive the nomination. He did so under a realizing sense

of the great responsibility resting on the Convention to act so that the great opportunity which God himself (he reasonably believed) had given them should not pass away unimproved. The Republican nomination had flung defiance into the face of American manhood, and had shocked the conscience of the best men in the Republican party; such nomination was a sign of decadence of that great organization, not a sign of increasing strength. The Democracy called for a candidate who had been tried in the balance and had never been found wanting. The Democracy demanded a statesman whose wisdom and experience were known. It demanded a man with a private character which would defy the malignant tongue of slander. It demanded a man who should be, in his public and private character, the very antithesis and opposite of the nominee of the Republican party. The man who was all this, and more, and whose name was now leaping from their hearts to their mouths, was Thomas Francis Bayard. Mr. Bayard, as a candidate, would make no mistake. His name would still the voice of faction; he would carry every doubtful State, and would make some Republican States doubtful. Enthusiasm would take the place of apathy, and would grow, and still grow, as the leaves were falling, until the dreary November was made ripe and glorious by the pæans of Democratic victory.

When the State of Indiana was called, Thomas A. Hendricks rose and made his way to the platform. The whole house was on its feet as the form of this veteran statesman was seen moving forward, and shout after shout shook the roof and made the banners sway. Hats and umbrellas were waived and thrown in the air, and only after repeated appeals by the chairman was the enthusiasm of the vast audience calmed to admit of the presentation by Mr. Hendricks of the name of Joseph E. McDonald.

He said that the people demanded a change in the man-

agement of Federal affairs, and that, if the Convention would give them half an opportunity, they would execute that purpose in the election of a president the coming fall. He believed that the nominee of this Convention would become the chosen president of the United States, the first inaugurated Democratic president in twenty-four years. In regard to civil service, he said that there were men of ability in the public service, and he would not ask that they should be driven out of office. None but such should be continued; none but the fittest should survive. Referring to the foreign policy of the government, he said it would be a beautiful spectacle if this republic, so strong, so secure, should lead the nations in a movement for permanent peace and for the relief of the people everywhere from standing armies and wasteful war. He then sketched Mr. McDonald's career, and declared that if he were in the White House no man who would go to see him there would find fault with the candid and frank manner of his reception. He did not speak for himself alone, or for Mr. McDonald alone, but for the great State of Indiana, which had instructed her delegates to present Mr. McDonald's name to the Convention. No matter where the Democratic candidate for the presidency lived, Indiana had always been found true; but that fact should not come in judgment against her. They should not say, from election to election, and from convention to convention, that they need not trouble about Indiana, as her vote was sure, but that they must take care (he would say by way of illustration) of New York. Mr. McDonald was a man of good judgment and of high character, and was supported by a great State. He therefore presented that name, and all that he asked was justice.

There was quite a demonstration in favor of McDonald at the conclusion of Mr. Hendricks' address, after which John M. Breckenridge, of California, introduced by the

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Chairman as the son of the last Democrat who was not unjustly deprived of office, to present for the delegates from California needed no eulogy, whose name was in the whole American people; a man who, if he be the next president of the United States, C. Thurman, of Ohio.

needed no eulogy, the whole American people, be the next president of Ohio. James A. McKen-zie, of Kentucky, a State that would give 50,000 major-ity votes to any foreign candidate, nominated the present dis-tinguished member of the House of Representatives, John G. Carlisle, for the next presidential election. The personal characteristics of manliness, cour-age, patriotism, Mr. Carlisle, he said, was the one name that had been, or would be, mentioned with that office. No name carried with one so much manly charm or more of the respect of the American people than his. He was a man not born for a thing. He was a man to whom dishonor came from the wrong side of the Ohio river. He was one made up alone. It might be said of him that he was a birthright in his name. Every man who came from the wrong side of the Ohio river, then, had a statute of limitations was ever to run, then, to begin now. Every spectator of New York. It was a distinguished men already the praised.

Last came the State
 the public were waiting.
 he might favor the distinguished men
 one of whom was well worthy the praise
 and the honor of the all place for which he has
 felt that from New York must come the State
 command support. The call of the hats
 received with cheers and waiving of
 Hon. Daniel Lockwood, the same who
 Cleveland for Mayor of Buffalo four years

to make the presentation, and amid cheers and applause he mounted the platform, and spoke as follows :

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : It is with no ordinary feeling, and with no ordinary feeling of responsibility, that I appear before this Convention as a representative of the Democracy of the State of New York for the purpose of placing in nomination before this Convention a gentleman from the State of New York for the candidacy of the presidency of the United States. This responsibility is made greater when I remember that the richest pages of American history have been made up from the records of Democratic Administrations. Its responsibility is made still greater when I remember that the only blot in the political history of the country—the action of the Electoral Commission at Washington in 1876—was an outrage upon the American people, that that outrage and that injury to justice is still unavenged, and this responsibility is not lessened when I recall the fact that the gentleman whose name I shall present to you has been my political associate from our youth to the present hour. Side by side have we marched to the tune of Democratic music. Side by side have we studied the principles of Jefferson and of Jackson, and learned the faith in which we believe, and during all this time we have occupied the positions, comparatively, of private citizens, yet always true and always faithful to Democratic principles. And, gentlemen of the Convention, the only object of our meeting here is to deal with the question so that when we have gone to our homes the people who are the voters of the country will ratify the nomination which we shall make.

“No man has greater respect or more veneration for the honored names which have been presented to this Convention than myself ; but, gentlemen, the world is moving, and moving rapidly. From the North and the South new men—men

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"I shall indulge in no eulogy of Mr. Cleveland ; I shall not attempt any further description of his political career ; it is known ; his Democracy is known ; his statesmanship is known throughout the length and breadth of this land. All I ask of this Convention is to let no passion, no prejudice influence their duty which they owe to the people of this country. Be not deceived. Grover Cleveland can give the Democratic party the electoral vote of the State of New York next November. He can by his purity of character, by his purity of administration, by his fearless and undaunted courage to do right command the support of men who ask only good administration. Gentlemen of the Convention, but one word more. Cleveland's candidacy before this Convention is offered upon the ground of his honor, his integrity, his wisdom, and his Democracy. Upon those grounds we ask it, believing that if nominated by this Convention he can be elected and take his seat at Washington, a Democratic President of the United States."

The reception of Mr. Lockwood's speech was a scene of the wildest enthusiasm. A mighty shout went up again and again from the immense concourse ; thousands of men sprang up on the chairs and benches, waving their hats, their handkerchiefs, their canes and even their coats, and voicing their approbation in tones that made the rafters shake again. This demonstration occurred when Mr. Lockwood first named Governor Cleveland in his speech, and again at his conclusion. It was the most wonderful popular demonstration at the Convention, and marked plainly the direction in which popular sympathy pointed.

The nomination was seconded by Hon. Carter Harrison, mayor of Chicago, and Democratic candidate for governor of Illinois, by ex-Congressman Hooker, of Mississippi, and by Hon. R. A. Jones, of Minnesota.

Then followed the formal expression of the opposition from the minority of the members of the New York delegation, Mr. Grady being the chief spokesman. In reply to the remarks of the opponents of Governor Cleveland, Mr. E. K. Appgar, of the New York delegation, spoke as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :— I pray your indulgence for the briefest possible period while I speak in behalf of the large majority of the New York delegation, which, by a vote of sixty-one to eleven, instructed the chairman of our delegation to present to this Convention the name of Grover Cleveland for nomination. I shall make no detailed argument. I desire merely to recall to your minds another scene than this, but one strikingly similar in its features. Eight years ago I sat with the New York delegation in the great Exposition building in the city of St. Louis, when the New York delegation there presented to that convention the name of Samuel J. Tilden to be the nominee for president of the United States. Then, as now, a minority of the delegation resisted at every step that nomination. Then, as now, the leader of the organization which these two gentlemen have represented— then, as now, the leader of that organization took the platform and told you that Mr. Tilden could not by any possibility carry the State of New York ; that his majority, owing to the opposition of Tammany Hall, owing to the opposition of the labor element, owing to other oppositions, that Mr. Tilden's majority in the city of New York would be so cut down that it would be hopeless for him to carry the State. That Convention, in its wisdom, disregarded the advice of these gentlemen and placed Mr. Tilden in nomination. What was the result? In the very city of New York, where these gentlemen had predicted the principal defection, Mr. Tilden received a majority of 55,000.

“The circumstances are not changed. Mr. Tilden was

governor of the State. So is Governor Cleveland. Mr. Tilden had been made governor because of his connection with municipal reform. So has Governor Cleveland. Mr. Tilden was nominated to the presidency because his two years as governor had commended him to the people of the whole United States. So has Governor Cleveland. Gentlemen, the situation is a simple one. For more than twelve years past the balance of power in the State of New York has been held by a large unattached vote, which belongs to neither political organization.

"We have in the State, probably, about 600,000 voters who will vote for the Democratic party nominee whom you may nominate. We have about 580,000 voters who will vote the Republican ticket under any and all circumstances. Now, outside of both these organizations there are a hundred thousand men in the State of New York who do not care a snap of their finger whether the Republican party or the Democratic party, as such, shall carry the election. They vote in every election according to the issues and the candidates presented. These men absolutely hold the control of the politics of New York in their hands. They are the balance of power. You must have their vote or you cannot win. Every time for ten years past when we have appealed to this element they have defeated us on our banners. When we have failed to elect Tilden's successor, come. These men unitedly, to a man, implore you to nominate to the office of president, Governor Tilden, and they ask you to place him in nomination in order that the elements opposed to the longer continuance of the Republican party in power may be united and make its defeat entirely certain.

At the conclusion of this episode, the Convention adjourned.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Third Day.—Further Presentation of Candidates.—Hoadly of Ohio and Randall of Pennsylvania.—Speeches in Indorsement of Cleveland's Nomination.—The Evening Session.—The Platform Presented and Adopted.—A Strong Statement of Democratic Principles.

The delegates assembled on the third day of the Convention at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. George C. Lorimer of Chicago, formerly of Boston. He rendered thanks for a country where liberty has found a refuge, labor an opportunity, domestic virtue a shield, and humanity a temple. He prayed that the nation may be awakened to realize that not in material prosperity, nor in wealth lay greatness and salvation, but in those virtues and principles announced in the Word of God and echoed down through the centuries. That in this country liberty may not degenerate into license, nor authority into tyranny, nor capital into oppression, nor labor into riotousness, nor conviction into bigotry and superstition. He asked for a blessing on the Convention, that the high sentiments and ennobling principles that fell from the lips of the speakers of yesterday may become the governing principles of this great party, and that its affairs to-day may be so ordered that the nominee of the Convention will be a man of lofty character, of resplendent reputation, whose attitude before the people shall be an inspiration to the growing manhood of the people, and that, if such nom-

inee be elected, he may be a blessing to the nation, and not a scourge.

Then followed further presentation of candidates, the enthusiasm and the turbulence which followed the announcement of Governor Cleveland's name on the preceding day having induced an adjournment before all the States had expressed their preferences.

Mr. Mansur of Missouri seconded the nomination of Allen G. Thurman, styling him "the noblest Roman of them all," "the colossal Democrat," "the Bismarck of America." He was loudly cheered. Then Thomas E. Penn of Ohio put in nomination Governor Hoadly of that State. Ex-Senator Wallace of Pennsylvania followed, presenting in the name of his State delegation Hon. Samuel J. Randall as Pennsylvania's choice. The theme was eloquent, and so were his remarks. He said :

"The name which I bring you is found on every page of your country's and your party's history in the last two decades. It is that of no tyro in political affairs. It is that of a man in the prime and vigor of his manhood, with every faculty trained in practical government. An official life of twenty years lies behind him, clear, luminous and pure. No dishonest action, no corrupt practice has ever stained his escutcheon. While most of his contemporaries in official life have grown rich, through devious and unknown means, he is still a poor man, whose highest aim has been fitly to serve his people and his republic. Democrats, the hour has struck for the nomination of a Democrat grounded in the faith and tried in the stern crucible of his party's service. The pathway of expediency lies behind us, strewn with the wrecks of our failures. Let us be honest now. Let us stand by the record of our own pure public men. Let us boldly appeal to the people on that record, and spurn the delusive promises of our bitter foe. The name of such a man we

bring you—his practiced hands, his experienced foresight, his conversance with public affairs—and he will lay the foundations of your return to power, so broad, so wide, so deep, that they will be permanent. He has been practically the leader in the National House of Representatives for seventeen years, favoring a reduction of taxation and an economical administration of the government. His iron will has put the knife to corrupting extravagance, and has compelled a return to comparative purity of administration. Earnest in purpose, pure in life, a grand tribune of the people, and a statesman, no favor sways him and no fear can awe.”

Then, after Massachusetts had, in a speech by Mr. J. W. Cummings, seconded the nomination of Senator Bayard, there followed a series of indorsements of Governor Cleveland.

First came Arkansas, for which State Hon. U. M. Rose was deputed to speak. He said :

“GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : I rise for the purpose, with your kind indulgence, of making perhaps the shortest speech that was ever made on this platform, a speech which probably will not occupy more than five minutes. After much consultation and deliberation the delegation of which I have the honor to form a part have made up their minds to cast their vote unanimously for Grover Cleveland, of the State of New York. We have listened patiently and courteously, and without objection, to everything that has been said against Grover Cleveland. He has received the unanimous approval of the State Convention of the State of New York. Let me say to you that there are no slaves in this Convention. There is no man here that wears a manacle upon his wrist. The delegation that I represent is also voting under the unit rule, but we do not consider that we are slaves because we carry

out the wishes of the Democracy of our State. What has been said against Governor Cleveland? We are in favor of him, because we believe him to be not a holiday reformer.

"We have listened to everything that has been said against Governor Cleveland with patience and with courtesy. What does it amount to? Simply this: that he has made some mistakes. To say that he has made mistakes is no more than to say that he is human. But we are told that he has enemies at home. There is no man who can administer with fidelity to principle the high and responsible office like that of governor of the State of New York without making enemies at home. Mr. Tilden had his enemies. George Washington, the greatest and the purest patriot that the world ever saw, had his enemies. If you are going to find a man who has no enemies, you will find a man who has not that elevation of character which is necessary to make him a successful candidate of the Democratic party, or a fit representative of its principles.

"Again we are told that Governor Cleveland is not acceptable to all the parties and men of his State; and that we ought not to enter the maelstrom of New York politics. But let us say, in answer to that, that the name of Governor Cleveland has ceased to be the individual property of the State of New York. It has become a part of the public domain and the property of the whole people of the United States."

Then followed Governor Edward S. Bragg, of Wisconsin, announcing that a majority of the delegates from that State wished to second the nomination of the Governor of New York. Governor Bragg said:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It is with feelings of no ordinary pride that I fill the post that has been assigned to me to-day. Grim and gray personally, fighting the battles of the Democratic party, I stand to-day to voice

the sentiment of the young men of my State when I speak for Governor Cleveland. His name is upon their lips ; his name is in their hearts ; and he is the choice not only of that band of young men, but he is the choice of all those who desire for the first time, as young men, to cast their votes in November for the candidate nominated by this Convention. They love him, gentlemen, and respect him, not only for himself, for his character, for his integrity and judgment, and iron will, but they love him most for the enemies he has made.

“I do not assume here to speak for labor. The child of a man who always earned his daily bread by his daily labor ; brought up for more than a quarter of a century, from boyhood to manhood, among the laborers that have made the great Northwest what it is, I do not assume to speak for labor. Labor is not represented in political conventions by the soft hand of the political trickster, no matter where. The men who follow conventions and talk about the rights of labor are the Swiss contingent who place their camps wherever the prospect of profit is greatest, while honest, intelligent, horny-handed labor will be found following the old Democratic flag, thanking God that its self-styled leaders have gone where they belonged. Men come here to talk of labor. Yes, their labor has been upon the crank of the machine ; their study has been political chicanery in the midnight conclave. We are told that the Democratic party is suffering from fearful political disorders by these men. If we are to judge from past experience, those disorders in the quarters where they are alleged to exist can only be cured by an application of Federal soap. I have heard it said that the States of the Northwest ought to have no voice in this nomination. I have heard it said, ‘What moots it what their opinion is, or what they may say?’ What was it that placed the great States of the Northwest in the Re-

publican column? It was because they followed blindly, implicitly, the old leaders, and they led the party of the Union to defeat, and they placed our States down under thousands and tens of thousands of Republican majority. We have fought our way steadily upward. We see through the water, which has been so deep above our heads, the glimmer again of sunlight, and we ask to breathe once more the air of victory.

"Our young men ask it. The religious sentiment of our country asks it. The intelligence of our people asks it. Our German foreign-born citizens say to us, 'we come to you with Cleveland.' The Old Guard will fight steadily and go down to death, shouting gloriously as they fall, under the lead of the chivalric Bayard. They will follow steadily and unflinchingly that sturdy old Democrat from Indiana, but to the same result, they fear. They will rally round that glorious old senator from Ohio, and they respect that judicial-minded gentleman from Kentucky, but they want some new life. They have followed old leaders to death. They ask somebody to lead them to victory. Pardon me for saying there was a time when the 2.40 steeds stood first upon the list, but in these days something that has made 2.40 ought to be retired as slow, for it is of no account against 2.10 1-4. Let our old war-horses be retired with honor. Let the record of their achievements be recorded, and pointed at with pride and pleasure; but our people say give us new life, give us new blood, give us something that has come to manhood and position since the war, that we will hear no more about what took place before and during the war. Every breeze brings to us what would seem to be indications of victory, but we cannot accomplish victory without recruits. Those recruits are at our bidding—young, middle-aged and old. You see them in platoons, in regiments, in brigades, in divisions. Every

one of them bears upon their banner first, Cleveland of New York. Let the countersign of the first Democratic camp in November be Cleveland, and these men will be there ; and, recruited as we shall be, our ides of November will not be a Waterloo, but will be the glorious sun of Austerlitz, and Wisconsin, my own adopted State, I say to you, gives us every reason to believe that she will find herself once more in the Democratic column, and her eleven electoral votes be cast for the nominee of this Convention. For that reason, on behalf of the majority representing that State, I second that nomination."

New Hampshire next claimed the platform, and Colonel Henry O. Kent spoke as follows :

"MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW-DEMOCRATS OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION: I stand here to-day to ask for such action from the grand council of the nation as will take New Hampshire out of the list of doubtful States and place her in her proper position in the Democratic column of the country. Although small in territory, and small here in numerical strength, New Hampshire has not formerly been without her voice in the councils of the nation. We do not forget that the great expounder of constitutional law, whose name is revered wherever the American tongue is spoken—Daniel Webster—was a son of New Hampshire. We do not forget, fellow-Democrats, that only a decade and a half ago New Hampshire gave to the country a gallant soldier, a courteous gentleman and an accomplished statesman as president of the United States. We are to-day in a minority of five hundred votes only on the popular vote of the State. We are in that list of doubtful States which we believe may be made sure to the cause of constitutional liberty, which is synonymous with the success of the Democratic party ; and it is because we believe this, because we can aid in the elec-

tion of a Democratic president, that I arise here to-day, at the request of our delegation, to second the nomination of one of the candidates named to-day.

“Mr. President and fellow-Democrats : In my judgment there is no way for a minority party to attain power except by concessions from the majority. With all the great and illustrious men that have been mentioned here to-day, names whom we revere and whose precepts we have followed, I beg to say that there is abroad an element in the country that stands watching and waiting the action of this Convention that it may come up and follow the Democratic hosts, and aid them to capture the citadel of the country.

“My friends, it does not do ; it is not enough to say we will nominate strictly upon a party issue. I believe that first of all the great and glorious Democratic party of the country through its delegates should be satisfied with this nomination, but further than finding such a man, I believe we should find a man acceptable to that great body of the independent voters who are now waiting to join us in his success.

“Fellow-Democrats, success is a duty. We have before us as the candidate of the opposition, a man whose record and whose methods bode no good to the republic in the event of his election. Should James G. Blaine be made president of the United States, with the forces behind him we may almost tremble for the future of constitutional liberty.

“My friends, allusion has been made here to-day to the position of the united South in voicing the sentiment of the country on the electoral ticket. It is because I desire to see the South recognized, to see the rights of the South protected, and a constitutional administration, that I trust a candidate will be presented who, in the opinion of many, will unite the country, will bring to the party accessions of strength, who will give us victory in November. My friends, the

war is over. The smoke of conflict has rolled away, and the echo of battle has ceased.

'Under the sod and the dew,
Awaiting the judgment day;
Under the roses the blue,
Under the lilies the gray.'

"When the centennial era was approaching, and good-feeling was bursting spontaneously from the North and South in 1875, who in the halls of Congress attempted to set back this tide of fraternal feeling? Who attempted to wave again the infamous 'bloody shirt,' and incite the North against the South? Blaine of Maine. Now, it is a duty we owe the State, it is a duty we owe ourselves and the country, to nominate a candidate who will give to all sections equal and exact justice. For this reason, because I believe the name I am about to mention will call to its support the strength of the great independent masses throughout the country, because I believe it will aid the Democratic party; because without giving up an iota of Democratic principle we shall thereby draw to us great accessions of strength, I second, in behalf of New Hampshire, and I know largely of New England, the name of that man who has been tried and found worthy, who has made reform a verity in a great State, Grover Cleveland of New York.

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: We are told, and you shall have time, for I will not take much of it—we are told there are divisions in New York. Has any candidate been presented to-day, from any State among the illustrious names that have been presented, where the delegation was united? Has there not been division? My friends, to whom are we to look for counsel? There may be dissensions in New York. There may be divisions in New York, but the candidate from New York is a man who will rally to his support, in my judgment,

more fully than any other man this independent vote in the country that desires reform in the politics of the country. Gentlemen of the Convention, we can never win a victory unless we have an issue, and unless we can do it upon principle. The illustrious maxim of the great Republican, Mr. Flanagan, 'what are we here for but the offices?' is not an issue that will carry the country for the Democratic party. We must have behind us a vitalizing principle. We must have this reform that is embodied in the person of Governor Cleveland, and we shall achieve success.

"One word more, and only one, and I am done. How shall we judge what is the wisest course to pursue? How can we tell about New York? We are met here by the assertion that Governor Cleveland cannot carry New York. We were told eight years ago that Governor Tilden could not carry New York, and that magnificent victory was accomplished, the fruits of which were wrested from us by an infamy unparalleled in the annals of the American Continent. Now, my friends, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen—let me state to you the authority upon which, I think, we may safely say that we can rely upon carrying the vote of New York. What is the evidence? Who knows about New York? Let me state to you the names of three illustrious gentlemen than whom there are no more purer Democrats in the country; unselfish, broad, statesmanlike men, who are known and loved by the people of the country. My friends, who says we can carry New York? Who assures us that the nomination of Governor Cleveland will carry New York? I cite the name of Francis Kernan of New York; I cite the name of Horatio Seymour of New York; I cite the name of Samuel J. Tilden, and I ask this Convention if there can be authority adduced—if there can be stronger proof put before us as to the probabilities of carrying New York with Cleveland as a candidate than the uniform testi-

mony and the earnest desire of these three illustrious statesmen and Democrats?

"Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, for twenty-four years we have been in the valley of defeat. We have marched with almost unbroken ranks, but the clouds have lowered over our heads and our victories have been dispelled save once, when victory was wrested from us by fraud; but now the signs are auspicious, the sun-burst of victory is in the air, and as the grand Democratic masses come into a close column, and the advance is sounded, and the column moves along over the intrenchments of the enemy, I believe that if we go forward with spirit and determination, and under a fitting leader, it will secure us entrance to the citadel of the country, and give to the country a pure, free, constitutional government, and consequent prosperity in the domestic and family circle. To accomplish that, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, I second, on behalf of my State and many of my associates in New England, the nomination of Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York."

By unanimous consent, Hon. James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin addressed the Convention. He said:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: A few words only as to why I favor the nomination of Governor Cleveland of New York. First—Because I believe we can carry the State of Wisconsin. The Republican majority of 1880 was 21,780. A change of 10,000 votes will give us the State of Wisconsin. The German Republicans of Wisconsin hold the balance of power, and 90 per cent. of that great vote is ready to come to the support of the Democratic party if it shall nominate Grover Cleveland. I believe he will, more surely than any other, carry the State of New York. But I shall not dwell on that, but simply say this: I rely on the statements of the delegations from New York, of Mr. Sey-

mour, of Mr. Tilden, and the men who know the condition of the State of New York. Mr. Chairman, I simply add my voice ; I have a bad cold ; but, gentlemen, I urge upon you not to throw away this great opportunity to make the election sure. For eighteen years your opportunity has been lost, not by the strength of your adversaries, but by the mistakes of the Democratic party itself. Make no mistakes now ; make the election sure. With Cleveland and reform you are sure of a victory in the coming election."

Finally was heard the voice of Connecticut. Governor Waller of that State, said :

"The delegation of the State of Connecticut came here without any candidate. They came here opposed to no one, not even Tammany Hall. When the call of the States was made Connecticut mentioned to this convention the name of none of her illustrious sons. Its delegation came to this Convention. They have listened to everything that has been said, and they have cheered almost everything that has been said on all sides. They have enjoyed, in common with you, this magnificent Convention. They have felt proud with you that there is no country on the face of God's earth that could present a scene such as we are now beholding. Eight hundred and more delegates from the sovereign states of this country here—convened for what? To select in the name of the people a man to rule over them? No. To select in the name of the people a man to rule for them—not over them. Its delegation have enjoyed with you the splendid oratory which the discussions of your session has developed. I would it were so, Sir, that at this moment every Democrat in the country, man and woman, could look in upon this scene, see the representative men of the grand old party, look at the statesmen whose hair has grown gray in its splendid service, have their hearts lifted with loyal enthusiasm and pride in shaking the hand of Allen G.

Thurmen. You delegates have listened, too, to the unfortunate controversy in the Empire State of our Union. We had hoped before this that that chasm between those two factions would be filled up—that Fellows on one side and the great Kelly on the other would fill the chasm. The time will come, gentlemen, when they will do it. They have got to do it.

“We from Connecticut regret as you do this misfortune, but now that they have listened to all the evidence in the deliberate style that is becoming New England, we are here, so far as we are concerned, to give him the verdict. We may make a mistake. Fallibility is common to us all. We may, in this great Convention, select the wrong man, but our duty as delegates is done when we come here with a determination to listen to every consideration, to weigh every argument pro and con, and then, as if under oath to our country, to give the result of our judgment in the vote we cast, and that result in the State of Connecticut has brought its delegation to instruct me to say to you—our State, you know, is a small one, and she requires only a short speech—that delegation has instructed me to say to you that, with every vote it has the power to give, it will, as soon as you give it the opportunity—and the sooner the better—it will second the nomination of Grover Cleveland, of New York.”

The names of the candidates were then announced, as follows, each name being greeted with cheers, but by far the greatest demonstration being for Cleveland: Thomas Francis Bayard of Delaware, Joseph E. McDonald of Indiana, John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Grover Cleveland of New York, Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, George Hoadly of Ohio.

At this point, the committee on the platform not having

reported, and a ballot for the choice of a candidate not being in order, the Convention adjourned until 8 o'clock in the evening.

There had been much discussion in the committee regarding the platform of principles to which the Convention should pledge itself, a draft differing somewhat upon the tariff and revenue question having been submitted and urged by General Butler. But when the Convention re-assembled for the evening session, after the recess, the report was presented complete by Mr. Morrison, chairman of the committee. This declaration of principles, holding such an important relation to the people of the country, as well as to the attitude of the party, is given herewith in full :

THE PLATFORM.

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses

grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party. Yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party is in open revolt. Therefore, a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud, which can never be condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office. The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed; it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings for actual settlers; it has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of

all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions ; it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor ; it subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or who died in the war, leaving widows and orphans ; it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It professes a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff ; it created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction ; its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures ; it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries ; it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor ; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law ; attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform ; its caught criminals are permitted to escape through continued delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels, or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary, is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust

taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners, knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands. The Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation should be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of productions which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the

public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government, economically administered. The system of direct taxation known as the internal revenue is a war tax, and, so long as the law continues, the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American continental policy, based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none. We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses,

by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls as conclusive proof, that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil-service reforms and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State; and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished.

We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relation of capital and labor.

We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In re-affirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and sanctioned in the constitution which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the emigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government, and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of person and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws, and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act. This country has never had a well-

defined and executed foreign policy, save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone. As the result of this policy, we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for, and improve, the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy, our merchant marine was fast overtaking, and on the point of outstripping, that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy, our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept from the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy, our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry. Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantages over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soil, despite freedom of trade among all these United States, despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual emigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations, despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old-World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies, despite

twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor, by reducing taxes, to the end that the United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics, acquiescence in the will of the majority, that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States, we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best of homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people, in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of

new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

General Butler offered his platform as a substitute, and a vote was taken on the question, resulting in its rejection. Yeas, 97 1-2; nays, 714 1-2. The platform as reported, was then adopted.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The First Ballot.—Cleveland Leads.—A Midnight Session.—The Fourth Day and the Last Session of the Convention.—The Second Ballot.—A Diversion in Favor of Hendricks.—New York Turns the Tide.—Grover Cleveland Nominated.—Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice-President.—Intense Enthusiasm.—“Praise God from Whom all Blessings Flow.”

The preliminaries had now all been concluded, the platform adopted, and the several candidates entered for the contest, it remained to make choice from their number, or from the many whose names had not been formally presented, for the high position of the standard-bearer of the Democracy of the United States, and the probable Chief Magistrate of the nation.

The Convention was ready for it. The strong popular support with which Governor Cleveland had entered the Convention, had not in any way been diminished by the parliamentary efforts of those who held others as a first choice, or by the more strenuous endeavors of the few who were really and heartily opposed to his nomination. He had grown steadily in strength; and although it was impossible to foretell what would be the outcome of the process of balloting, in which many times a momentary enthusiasm or a sudden surprise has swept away a clear majority and turned the tide of votes into an overwhelming and even unanimous choice of another, it was apparent that Governor Cleveland would stand easily in advance of his competitors.

There was a futile attempt to postpone the inevitable on the part of those who favored other candidates ; but the Convention was ready for the test, and voted down a motion to adjourn. And then, at midnight on the third day of the Convention, the first ballot was taken.

Upward of an hour was occupied in this ballot, and in recording the changes of votes which several of the States made before the result was declared. This result was finally announced as follow :

Whole number of votes,	820
Necessary for a choice,	547
Cleveland,	392
Bayard,	170
Thurman,	88
Randall,	78
McDonald,	56
Carlisle,	27
Flower,	4
Hoadly,	3
Hendricks,	1
Tilden,	1

More than half a century ago, the Democratic National Convention established the rule that two-thirds of all the delegates assembled from all the States must agree upon the candidate for president. This rule has since been observed ; and although it has sometimes operated to prevent the nomination of a candidate who was clearly the choice of a large majority, its wisdom has been tested by time, and is fully acknowledged. This first ballot, however, showed not even a majority for Grover Cleveland ; much less the necessary two-thirds. But it was significant that, out of all the States and Territories, in only nine was he left without votes in this first ballot. A stronger position could not be wished, since on this ballot the local and individual pref-

erences of the delegates would be expressed, and many complimentary votes given without the purpose of continuing them on subsequent ballots.

Thus California cast its sixteen votes solid for Thurman; Indiana gave its thirty votes to McDonald; Kentucky supported Carlisle with all its twenty-six votes; Ohio gave Thurman twenty-three out of its forty-six; Pennsylvania and New Jersey were almost solid for Randall; Delaware gave Bayard all its votes, and the Southern States cast their ballots heavily for the same candidate. But, setting aside these expressions of preference for some "favorite son," it was apparent that Governor Cleveland held the advanced position in the race. There were forty-seven States or Territories represented in the Convention. Out of these he had votes from thirty-eight, while nine States—that is to say, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York and Vermont, with six of the Territories—gave him the full vote of their delegations.

This was the situation when the Convention, about half-past one o'clock in the morning, adjourned until the next day.

On assembling the next day, Friday, July 11, the fourth day of the Convention, it was felt that the decisive hour had come. Rev. Clinton Lock, D. D., of Grace Church, Chicago, who opened the proceedings with prayer, made application for unselfish guidance of the delegates in choosing the candidates, and for loyal support of the president to be elected. Then, without preliminary, except the withdrawal of Randall's name by the Pennsylvania delegation, the decisive balloting began.

The roll call of States progressed quietly, amid suppressed excitement and expectation, until Illinois announced one vote for Hendricks, and that gentleman arose to request

that it be given to some one else. Instantly the whole Convention was on its feet, and up got the spectators in the galleries by the thousands. From the quiet of a moment before, the hall was changed to a roaring, shouting theater of noise. The uproar of enthusiasm continued for nearly half an hour, when Senator Voorhees, mounting one of the secretary's tables, announced that Indiana withdrew the name of McDonald for the purpose of casting its thirty votes for Hendricks when that State was reached in the roll call. At this statement the enthusiasm broke out afresh, and continued, in spite of all efforts to control delegates and spectators on the part of the chair.

Finally quiet was restored in a comparative degree, and the vote was continued, Illinois giving Cleveland thirty-eight votes, and thus starting another storm of enthusiastic demonstration. When New York was reached, and the chairman of that delegation cast its seventy-two votes for Cleveland, the whole Convention rose to its feet spontaneously, and a cheer like an avalanche rolled over the hall. The band played "America" and "He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

The roll call went on, Governor Hendricks gaining at points, but a steady increase of the Cleveland column marking the progress of the vote. Each access of strength to either candidate was saluted with cheers; but finally, when the roll call was completed, and it became evident that Cleveland had a large majority, the impatience of the delegates to make the majority sufficient to insure the nomination could be no longer restrained.

The excitement had now reached its highest point. State after State whirled into line, and from every part of the hall came vigorous calls for recognition, as the chairman of delegations sought the opportunity of changing the votes of their States in favor of the New York candidate. Dele-

gates and spectators acted as if impelled by some furious insanity. The chairman splintered his desk in the vain attempt to restore order, and at last gave it up and sat down. For half an hour excitement reigned supreme, and only when the enthusiasts were too hoarse to shout longer, and too tired to wave their arms, was quiet restored sufficiently to permit the official announcement of the vote.

At 1 o'clock the reading of the ballot, as revised and corrected, was begun, and when it had progressed so far as to show that Governor Cleveland had received the two-thirds necessary for a choice, an immense floral anchor, surmounted by an eagle, was brought into the hall and carried down the aisle. The audience knew that Cleveland was chosen, and from the thirty thousand throats there went up a shout that sent the welcome news far beyond the walls of the Exposition building. The multitude outside caught up the sound. Again and again it was renewed; and then the boom of cannon was added to the demonstration; a portrait of Governor Cleveland, in oil colors, of heroic size, requiring the support of a dozen strong men to carry, was borne in and placed upon the platform; and this was the ballot as announced:

Whole number of votes,	. . . . .	820
Necessary for a choice,	. . . . .	547
Cleveland,	. . . . .	683
Bayard,	. . . . .	81 1-2
Hendricks,	. . . . .	45 1-2
Randall,	. . . . .	4
Thurman	. . . . .	4
McDonald	. . . . .	2

An adjournment was then taken, the delegates separating well satisfied with the work accomplished.

Meeting again at 5.30 the same evening, the ticket was

completed by the nomination of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks for vice-president.

The candidates presented for this office included Gen. John C. Black of Illinois, Joseph E. McDonald of Indiana, Gen. W. S. Rosecrans of California, Governor Glick of Kansas, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. The delegation from Governor Hendricks' State protested against his candidacy, asserting that Indiana had no name to present for the second place on the ticket; but the Convention would listen to no refusal; the other candidates were promptly withdrawn, and Governor Hendricks received every vote cast, and was declared the nominee of the Democratic party.

Then the cheering, and band playing, and singing were renewed. A cornet soloist stepped out to the front of the west gallery and rendered "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow." The great audience helped him out with its thousands of voices. Some excited individual seized the Indiana standard and pressed to the speaker's platform with it. Other enthusiastic delegates grasped the remaining standards and pursued him. Soon they all met in front of the speaker's platform, and then marched in procession twice around the hall, cheering for Cleveland and Hendricks.

And thus, to the music of the doxology of praise, with earnest, joyful and satisfied heart, the great Convention adjourned.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

After the Nomination.—Cleveland Indorsed by the Leaders of the Party.—Prominent Republicans also Tender Support and Congratulations.—Letters and Telegrams Pour in.—Views of Distinguished Men.—Enthusiasm at Cleveland's Home.—Buffalo Ablaze.—Speech of Governor Cleveland at Albany.

The wires flashed the news of Governor Cleveland's nomination to every city in the land the moment that the ballot in the Chicago Convention building showed it to be an accomplished fact; and everywhere a waiting multitude, anxiously scanning the bulletins and listening to the click of the telegraph, raised a shout of satisfaction and rejoicing. Throughout the length and breadth of the country the cannon boomed forth a welcome to the name, and flags were thrown to the breeze.

In the convention hall dispatches began at once to arrive, commending the action of the delegates and approving the choice of Grover Cleveland. Senator Bayard, who received the next highest number of ballots in the convention, telegraphed from his home in Delaware, his congratulations and the promise of his hearty support. Governor Hoadly, who was also a candidate for the nomination, sent the following despatch from Columbus, Ohio:

"To the Hon. W. F. Vilas, President of the National Democratic Convention: I congratulate the convention, the Democracy, and the country, upon the wise work this day done. Ohio is our first battle-ground. We are now

firing 100 guns over the nomination, and promise to salute you with the cheers of victories in October and November.

"GEORGE HOADLY."

The great centers of business were also filled with rejoicing. The New York Produce Exchange was heard from over the wires as follows :

"*The Hon. W. F. Vilas*, Chairman of the Democratic Convention : Both Democrats and Republicans on the Produce Exchange just joined in three rousing cheers for Cleveland. New York business-men are solid for him.

"F. S. WILLIAMS."

At Augusta, Maine, the home of Mr. Blaine, the news was proclaimed by the prolonged shriek of the hoarse and ponderous steam-whistle of E. C. Allen & Co.'s great publishing house, whose tremendous scream carried the news far above the sound of the joyous bells and the echoing cannon which joined in the demonstration. The following despatch was sent :

"GROVER CLEVELAND : The Democrats of Augusta, the home of Blaine, tender their sincere congratulations and their undivided support in the coming campaign.

"THE DEMOCRATIC CITY COMMITTEE."

The Democratic leaders in attendance at the convention gave in their hearty adhesion. Allen G. Thurman said : "The Democracy has met the expectations of the country in the nomination of Governor Cleveland, and has given us in Ohio a name which will attach many to the party, giving us a strength which perhaps no other candidate could have given."

John R. McLean, editor of *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, representing the Hoadly element of the Ohio Democracy, was jubilant over Cleveland's nomination. Said he : "It is now a large thing to promise, perhaps, before we have had a

chance to cover the field and examine the condition of Ohio, but I believe we can promise the State to the Democracy. Cleveland is the natural candidate of the party and Ohio will be heard from at the proper time in a way which will show that this nomination was the best possible one."

Senator Vance, of North Carolina, said: "Of course everybody knows that I did not vote for Governor Cleveland, but I am for him now. The Democracy of the rest of the country may be depended upon to do its duty. Cleveland is a strong man and will, I believe, win."

Congressman Morrison, of Illinois, thought the head of the ticket a strong man. He said: "I believe Illinois can be carried for the Democracy. This year the chances are excellent. We have a good ticket, a good platform and a splendid opportunity. I was not a candidate for the second place on the ticket, rumors to the contrary notwithstanding, and it would have to be a very unexpected conjuncture of circumstances which would make me one, so that you can see my belief on this matter is entirely unbiased by personal feelings."

John G. Carlisle said: "I like the ticket very much, and you may record me as at least one of those heartily satisfied with the result."

Judge Shoup, of Illinois, said: "Cleveland suits Illinois. We shall go into the State campaign with more confidence in its results than we have felt since the time of Douglas."

Senator Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, said: "I am satisfied with the ticket. South Carolina will be heard from as usual on the right side."

Congressman B. A. Hancock, of Virginia, said: "Cleveland's nomination means honesty and reform, which is sure to win in Virginia by at least 15,000 majority."

Ex-Governor Wickliffe, of Louisiana, who has probably as wide an acquaintance with Southern politics as any man

in the country, was very earnest in his commendation of the ticket as one of strength in that region. "It is absurd," said he, "for the Republicans to talk about carrying South Carolina or Florida as they do. With Cleveland at the head of the ticket, I believe every interest and element of the Democratic party in the South will be harmonized and enthused. So far as my own State is concerned, it will ratify the ticket with a will."

Senator Spencer, chairman of the California delegation, said: "Cleveland has our respect as a reformer, a fearless, manly man, and we will give him from 3,000 to 5,000 majority in California. We feel that the mantle of Tilden has fallen upon him, and he stands on splendid planks, covering prohibition and Chinese emigration."

"You can say for Virginia," said R. M. McKenney of that State, "that Mahone has had his day, and that the Democratic party need have no fear as to what report we will make in November, with such a vigorous and popular leader as Cleveland. Our people like him, and will give him no half-way support. You will find that to be the sentiment of our delegation."

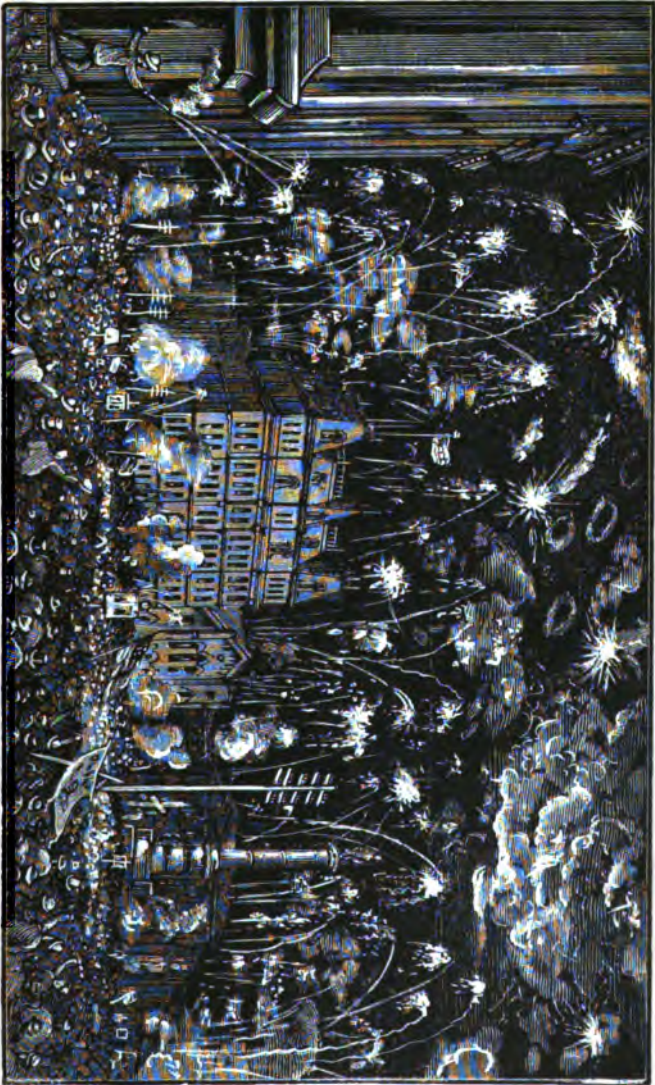
A. E. Burr of Connecticut said: "Our vote was for Cleveland all through the fight. Not because of any blind sentiment, but because he commanded our admiration as a vigorous, consistent, able and upright young Democrat, who had undergone a test that had made him popular with that very large class of independent voters who hold the balance of power in Connecticut. It is a class which mingles but little in politics, but which represents a very large portion of all that is substantial and conservative in the State, comprising many, if not a majority, of the wealthiest and best-known men in its borders. I consulted a very large number of that class of citizens before coming here, and with one accord they declared for Cleveland as the man who would

be accorded their warmest support. *We will carry Connecticut beyond the shadow of a doubt, and with a decisive majority. I have the assurance, that in one Hartford township where I am well acquainted, we will get nearly one thousand votes that went to Garfield, and they are votes, too, which cannot be influenced by clap-trap or money."*

Governor Waller, of the same State, said: "Cleveland has the confidence and admiration of not only our entire Democracy in Connecticut, but of the independent vote, which is very large there, and which looks upon him as the coming man of the nation. You know the Connecticut Republicans have no use for Blaine, and all they wanted was the chance to come over to us, which Cleveland affords them."

Elsewhere than in Chicago, men of note and influence were free in expressing similar views. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said: "The nomination of Governor Cleveland is one of the best, if not the best, that could have been made. I propose to vote for Governor Cleveland for the presidency."

Rev. Dr. McGlynn of St. Stephens Church, New York, when asked his views upon the nomination of Governor Cleveland, said that personally and as a citizen he rejoiced in his nomination, because he believed it was in the interest of good, pure, simple and honest government. It would therefore be for the good of the whole people. As a clergyman, he recognized the duty of carefully avoiding even the appearance of abusing in the slightest degree the influence of his sacred calling in the interest of partisan politics. But just because he is a Catholic clergyman he had felt it to be his right and his duty to denounce, when called upon, the crime and folly of those who had abused the sacred name of religion by saying that the Catholics, as such, would oppose the governor. Dr. McGlynn asserted that both as a Catholic and as a clergyman, he rejoiced particularly in the nom-



GRAND DEMONSTRATION AT BUFFALO IN HONOR OF CLEVELAND'S NOMINATION.

ination because, besides its other good points, it administered a well-deserved rebuke to the crime and blunder.

Even Rev. Dr. Thomas Armitage, a strong friend of Mr. Blaine was forced to express himself in commendation of Governor Cleveland's character and ability, as follows :

"While I am a strong Republican, and much prefer Blaine to any other candidate for the presidency, still I cannot fail to recognize in Governor Cleveland a magistrate of uncommon sagacity and integrity. His independence of the dictates of party factions has seemed to me remarkable. Should he be elected president, I believe that he would prove as true a friend of the people as he has during his occupancy of the gubernatorial chair."

In Buffalo, the home of Grover Cleveland, there was universal rejoicing. As soon as the news of his nomination was received, the wildest enthusiasm was manifested. Flags and banners floated out from hundreds of staffs, bands went playing through the streets, cannon were fired, and the governor's portrait was to be seen in the window of nearly every place of business in the city. In the evening there was a spontaneous uprising of the people, who gathered in procession numbering at least five thousand, and marched through the streets. On the following Monday, the Buffalo delegation having in the meantime arrived from Chicago, this scene was repeated. The streets of Buffalo were lighted from end to end with bonfires, and the sky was ablaze with pyrotechnics as the great procession, with music and banners and transparencies, made its progress through cheering and enthusiastic crowds.

Governor Cleveland was in the executive chamber at the Capitol at Albany, sitting at his desk and attending to the routine duties of his office, at the time when the Convention at Chicago was balloting for a candidate for president. Mr. R. E. Gove, one of the Capitol messenger staff, was the

first to receive and carry to the executive chamber the news of the result of the second ballot, at the same time that the cannon of the Young Men's Democratic Club down town boomed out the welcome news.

Governor Cleveland then retired to his private room with his private secretary, Colonel D. S. Lamont, Adjutant-General Farnsworth, and Dr. S. B. Ward, his physician. The governor's intimate friends expressed their joy at the result, and he came out into the large room, which was soon thronged with a crowd of politicians and citizens anxious to offer their congratulations. He received them all in a dignified manner. He had nothing to say directly about the result, except to express his thanks to the callers. He manifested no elation, and was apparently no more moved than he would be by any every-day occurrence. The visitors included many prominent citizens, most of the State and local politicians, and large numbers of workingmen. A hardy son of toil, in his shirt sleeves and with a tattered hat in his hand, was among the first to greet the governor with a "God bless you." The stream of callers kept up for two or three hours without intermission, and, ten minutes after the nomination was made, congratulatory dispatches began to pour in from all parts of the country.

In the evening there was a great demonstration at the executive mansion, when the Young Men's Democratic and Jacksonian Clubs appeared to serenade their candidate. The grounds in front of the mansion were illuminated with colored lights and crowded with nearly five thousand people of all classes. On the piazza over the porch were a few friends of the governor, with his sisters, Mrs. Hoyt and Miss Cleveland, of Fayetteville, and two nieces. After the band had played "Hail to the Chief," Governor Cleveland appeared and was enthusiastically cheered. He was introduced as the next president of the United States, and, in response, said :

"FELLOW-CITIZENS :—I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors.

"On this occasion I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen, and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted.

"The American people are about to exercise, in its highest sense, their power of right and sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representatives of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship.

"Parties may be so long in power, and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people, as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes, as certainly as death, when the people weigh them in the balance.

"The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted.

"We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party which for nearly twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation the full benefits to which they are entitled, of a pure, just and economical rule; and we believe that the ascendancy of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better government, and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people.

"To reach the sober thought of the nation, and to dislodge an enemy intrenched behind spoils and patronage involve a struggle, which, if we under-estimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe

to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts.

“Let us, then, enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready, with solid front, to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.”

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Qualities Which Draw Support to Grover Cleveland.—His Honesty, Independence and Courage.—Description of His Personal Appearance.—How the Press Received His Nomination.—Cleveland's Record as a Consistent Democrat.

In the short space of three years, Grover Cleveland advanced from the station of a private citizen to the most conspicuous place in public life. What was the cause of this unparalleled rapidity in his career? It has been due solely to the unswerving fidelity of the man to a high sense of duty in public position.

A successful lawyer and a respected citizen who had held such positions as assistant district-attorney and sheriff of his county acceptably, he was made a candidate for mayor of Buffalo at a time when a man was wanted for the place whose name alone would mean reform—a man of such unquestioned ability, such undoubted integrity, and such unimpeachable independence and courage that his election could mean nothing but reform. The result justified the selection, not only in success at the polls, but in the spirit of the administration which followed.

The same qualities and their practical illustration in the Buffalo mayoralty led to Mr. Cleveland's nomination for governor of the State of New York without any seeking of his own, and the same popular confidence elicited by such qualities was displayed in the State canvass of 1882. In the office of governor of the largest and richest State of the

Union Mr. Cleveland rose to the full measure of its requirements in administrative capacity, and maintained, under the full pressure of partisan schemers and self-seekers—the strongest, perhaps, anywhere exerted in the country—his exalted views of public duties, his integrity of action, and his unflinching independence and courage.

This it is that attracted so many eyes to him at this juncture as the fittest man for the presidency; although he never has taken a conspicuous part in party councils and has never been associated with official life at the capital of the Union.

In personal appearance, Governor Cleveland is a strong man, physically and intellectually. His face, no less than his figure and action, indicate strenuous vital force and that admirable co-ordination of faculties which is best expressed in the phrase, "a cool head." Those traits which are in part the result of early and constant self-training have given him the air of conscious and quiet power which belongs only to the triumphant antagonist in the world's fight. His figure betokens herculean strength—massiveness is the best word for it—and there is in the smoothly shaven face, the same token of equal solidity of character, with the suggestion of physical vigor in the soft, brown mustache that strongly contrasts with the scantiness of hair on his head. There is a slight tendency to corpulency—as is usually the case in vital temperaments—and a double chin is beginning to hang down over the simple white necktie. There is nothing phlegmatic in the man's manner. His face lights up with a sympathetic smile and without becoming animated or brilliant he is at once interesting, unaffected and intensely real.

His character is in keeping with the promise of his face and figure—strong, open, courageous and honest. Only last fall, when asked what he thought would be the issue

between the great parties this year, Governor Cleveland replied: "The question of an honest administration of public affairs; the relation of public business transactions to the simple common sense of every-day life. I believe the same principles that prevail in private business should be made to apply to the public business. This involves the cutting off of all needless extravagance, and the employment of the best men possible. I have tried the experiment in the administration of the office of governor, and, although I have at times come in pretty active conflict with some of the leading politicians, I yet believe I am generally sustained by the people throughout the State."

He is indeed sustained, not only by the people of his State, but by the people of the whole country. The Democratic press, speaking for that party, unanimously and enthusiastically approved and indorsed his nomination for the presidency. It would be superfluous to quote here from the multitude of warm expressions of satisfaction and eager approval which his nomination called forth from the press of his party.

But the approval of the Republican press has a peculiar significance, inasmuch as many leading organs—such as the New York Times, Harper's Weekly, the Boston Daily Advertiser and Transcript, and among the independent journals the Boston Herald and Springfield Republican—promptly declares in favor of his election, the most violent party sheets had nothing but praise of his character and ability.

But, with all this accession of Republican support in his candidacy for president, Grover Cleveland stands, as he has always stood, an unwavering Democrat. He has never been other than a Democrat, and has never sought, by trade or dicker, or compromise, to secure recognition, or anything else in politics. In this, as in all other things, he has been strictly honest and open.

As a Democrat he was, in 1863, made assistant district-attorney of the county of Erie. As a Democrat he was, in 1866, nominated to be district-attorney of that county. As a Democrat he was, in 1870, chosen to be county sheriff. As a Democrat he was, in 1881, elected to be mayor of Buffalo. As a Democrat, in 1882, he was elected to be governor of the State, and now he stands as the chosen Democratic candidate for the presidency. In these twenty-one years since his first designation for public office by the Democrats he has six times received the approval of the official councils of the party, and the people have failed to affirm this selection only once in the course of these twenty-one years, he may in every sense be said to have attained majority as a Democrat.

It is as a Democrat, representing Democratic principles, that Grover Cleveland has won the respect and the support of Republicans.

CHAPTER XL.

Governor Cleveland Officially Notified of his Nomination.—The Scene at the Executive Mansion.—Distinguished Democrats in Attendance on the Ceremony.—Address of Colonel Vilas.—The Official Notification.—Reply of Governor Cleveland.—The Speeches in Full.

On the 28th day of July, the drawing-room of the Executive Mansion on Eagle street, Albany, was crowded with a distinguished assembly, the occasion being that of the official notification of Governor Cleveland of the action of the Democratic Convention in choosing him as the candidate of the party for president of the United States.

The rooms were fragrant with flowers, which formed the only decorations, two large banks of roses, carnations, geraniums, and other flowers from the executive green-houses resting upon the mantels of the drawing-room and library.

For two days distinguished Democrats from all parts of the country had been arriving to participate in the ceremony, and to take part in the great ratification meetings that were to follow in the evening. The National Committee was also in session at Albany on that day, and the committee of notification arrived in the morning.

This committee, which was appointed on the third day of the Convention, consisted of the chairman, Colonel W. F. Vilas of Wisconsin, the secretary, Colonel N. M. Bell of Missouri, and the following representatives of the other States: Daniel P. Bestor of Alabama, S. R. Cockrell of

Arkansas, Miles Searles of California, Governor T. M. Waller of Connecticut, W. D. Shipley of Florida, Milton P. Reese of Georgia, A. E. Stevenson of Illinois, E. D. Bannister of Indiana, Governor L. G. Kinnie of Iowa, C. C. Burns of Kansas, Attila Cox of Kentucky, James Jeffries of Louisiana, C. A. Osgood of Maine, Dr. George Welles of Maryland, Daniel J. Campan of Michigan, Henry Poehler of Minnesota, Charles E. Hooker of Mississippi, P. Fahy of Nebraska, John H. Dennis of Nevada, John F. Cloutman of New Hampshire, W. G. Lamb of North Carolina, D. S. Baker, jr., of Rhode Island, Joseph H. Earle of South Carolina, William A. Quarles of Tennessee, Joseph E. Dwyer of Texas, George L. Speer of Vermont, Robert Beverly of Virginia, G. H. Curry of Arizona, E. D. Wright of the District of Columbia, M. S. McCormick of Dakota, S. T. Hauzr of Montana, N. B. Dutro of Washington, George W. Stevedore of New Mexico, William H. Halliday of Wyoming.

These gentlemen, together with the members of the National Committee, proceeded, in twenty-five carriages, under escort of the Democratic Phalanx of one hundred men, in uniform of black suits and white hats, preceded by the Albany City Band, to the Executive Mansion.

Arriving at the governor's residence, the committees passed into the drawing-room, and formed in a semi-circle opposite the mantel, in the center of the south side. On the left were the governor's two sisters, Mrs. W. E. Hoyt and Miss R. E. Cleveland, the Misses Mary and Carrie Hastings of Ceylon, nieces of the governor; Mrs. Folsom and Miss Folsom of Buffalo, wife and daughter of his former law partner, all guests at the mansion, and Mrs. D. S. Lamont of Albany, wife of the governor's private secretary. On the right of the row were the following members of the National Committee: H. C. Semple of Alabama, M. F.

Tarpey of California, Ignatius C. Grubb of Delaware, Samuel Pasco of Florida, Patrick Walsh of Georgia, S. Corning Judd of Illinois, M. M. Hamm of Iowa F. O. Prince of Massachusetts, Don M. Dickens of Michigan, George L. Miller of Nebraska, A. W. Sulloway of New Hampshire, Miles Ross of New Jersey, Hubert O. Thompson of New York, M. W. Ransom of North Carolina, J. B. Barnaby of Rhode Island, F. W. Dawson of South Carolina, V. B. Smalley of Vermont, John S. Barbour of Virginia, Lewis Baker of West Virginia, William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, F. S. Morgan of Arizona, William Dickson of the District of Columbia, L. L. McArthur of Idaho, C. C. Parsons of Colorado, J. H. Kuan of Washington Territory, D. E. McCarthy of Nevada, B. F. Jonas of Louisiana, C. A. Johnson of Mississippi. Scattered around the room behind the official visitors were many prominent Democrats, among whom were ex-Speaker Samuel J. Randall, Congressman Perry Belmont, Adjutant-General J. G. Farnsworth, Congressman P. A. Collins of Boston, ex-Senator John P. Stockton of New Jersey, Colonel William C. Whitney, of New York, Judge Samuel Hand of Albany, ex-Senator Frank Herford of Virginia, W. S. Bissell of Buffalo, E. R. Bacon of New York, D. E. McCarthy, editor of the Virginia City Enterprise, Joseph Pulitzer of New York, Judge A. J. Parker, Erastus Corning, St. Clair McKelway, Congressman Van Alstyne, Judge Rufus W. Peckham, Colonel D. S. Lamont, Mayor Bleeker Banks, Abraham Lansing, Senator John Boyd Thatcher, General Charles Tracy, E. K. Apgar, Colonel W. G. Rice, Dr. S. B. Ward and G. D. Wasson of Albany.

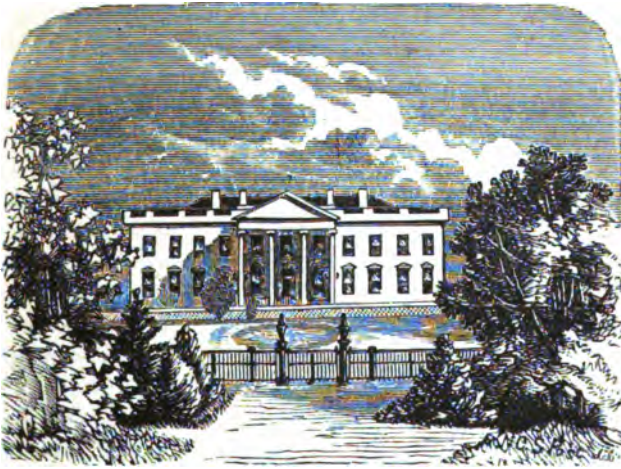
When the company had assembled, Governor Cleveland entered the room and took his position in front of the mantel. Colonel Villas then addressed him as follows :

“GROVER CLEVELAND, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF

NEW YORK : These gentlemen, my associates here present, whose voice I am honored with authority to utter, are a committee appointed by the National Democratic Convention, which recently assembled in Chicago, and charged with the grateful duty of acquainting you officially, and in that solemn and ceremonious manner which the dignity and importance of the communication demands, with the interesting result of its deliberation, already known to you through the ordinary channels of news. Sir, that august body, convened by direct delegation from the Democratic people from the several States and Territories of the republic, and deliberating under the witness of the greatest assembly of freemen ever gathered to such a conference in forethought of the election which the Constitution imposes upon them to make during the current year, have nominated you to the people of these United States to be their president for the next ensuing term of that great office, and with grave consideration of its exalted responsibilities have confidently invoked their suffrages to invest you with its functions. Through this committee, the Convention's high requirement is delivered that you accept that candidacy. The choice carries with it profound personal respect and admiration, but it has been in no manner the fruit of these sentiments.

"The National Democracy seek a president, not in compliment for what the man is or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people, fit for their lofty trust. Always of momentous consequence, they conceive the public exigency to be now of transcendent importance, that a laborious reform in administration, as well as legislation, is imperatively necessary to the prosperity and honor of the republic, and a competent chief magistrate must be of unusual temper and power. They have observed with attention your execution of the public trusts you have held, especially of that with

which you are now so honorably invested. They place their reliance for the usefulness of the services they expect to exact for the benefit of the nation, upon the evidence derived from the services you have performed for the State of New York. They invite the electors to such proof of character and competence to justify their confidence that in the nation, as heretofore in the State, the public business will be admin-



WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

istered with commensurate intelligence and ability, with single-hearted honesty and fidelity, and with a resolute and daring fearlessness which no faction, no combination, no power of wealth, no mistaken clamor can dismay or qualify. In the spirit of the wisdom, and invoking the benediction of the Divine Creator of men, we challenge from the sovereignty of the nation his words in commendation and ratification of our choice—'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will

make thee ruler over many things.' In further fulfillment of our duty the secretary will now present the written communication signed by the committee."

Colonel Bell, secretary of the committee, then read the following official notification, which, engrossed in a book bound in Russia leather, he handed to Governor Cleveland:

"NEW YORK CITY, July 28, 1884.

"To the Hon. Grover Cleveland of New York :

"SIR :—In accordance with a custom befitting the nature of the communication, the undersigned, representing the several States and Territories of the Union, were appointed a committee by the National Democratic Convention which assembled at Chicago on the eighth day of the current month, to perform the pleasing office which by this means we have the honor to execute, of informing you of your nomination as the candidate of the Democratic party in the ensuing election for the office of president of the United States. A declaration of the principles upon which the Democracy go before the people, with a hope of establishing and maintaining them in the Government, was made by the Convention, and an engrossed copy thereof is submitted in connection with this communication for your consideration. We trust the approval of your judgment will follow an examination of the expression of opinion and policy, and upon the political controversy now made up we invite your acceptance of the exalted leadership to which you have been chosen. The election of a president is an event of the utmost importance to the people of America. Prosperity, growth, happiness, peace and liberty even may depend upon its wise ordering. Your unanimous nomination is proof that the Democracy believe your election will most contribute to secure these great objects. We assure you that in the anxious responsibilities you must assume as a candidate, you will have the steadfast and cordial support of the friends

of the cause you will represent, and in the execution of the duties of the high office which we confidently expect, from the wisdom of the nation, to be conferred on you, you may surely rely for approving aid upon the patriotism, honor and intelligence of this free people.

“We have the honor to be, with great respect,

“W. F. VILAS of Wisconsin, President,

“NICHOLAS M. BELL of Missouri, Secretary,

“and all the members of the committee.”

In reply Governor Cleveland, speaking with marked deliberation and force, said :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE.—

Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the nation, and yet when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of that great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to entrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider, under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes, and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion, and by the responsibility of my position. Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me. Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than 50,000,000 of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy.

This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which more than all others gives to the action of any party

in convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives which ask to be entrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety, should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people. If in this contest upon which we now enter we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong because we are true to ourselves and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny, where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption, where there should be devotion to the people's interests. These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause, and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort, or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed. I have thus called to mind some simple truths. Trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual formal manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the mean time I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause."

Governor Cleveland was frequently interrupted by applause, which was prolonged at the close of his remarks. The ceremonies were thus completed, and Grover Cleveland was formally the candidate of the Democratic party for the highest office in the gift of the people of the United States.



J. A. Hendrick,

RAPEY

OF

Andrew Bonbricks

NO 17 A

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GOVERNMENT



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BIOGRAPHY

OF

Thomas Andrews Hendricks,

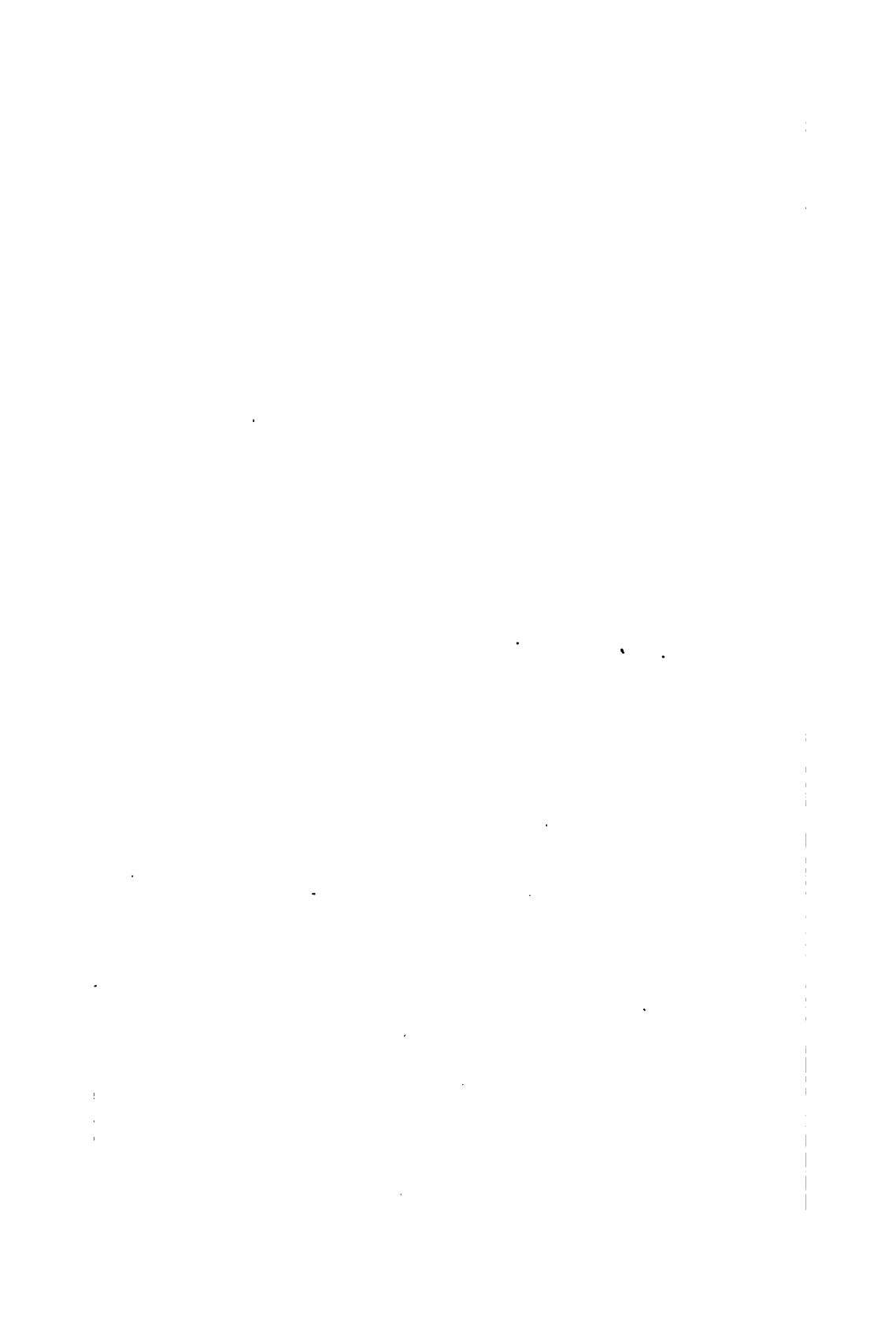
OF INDIANA,

AND HIS SERVICES TO THE PEOPLE OF HIS STATE AND HIS COUNTRY.

BY FREDERICK E. GOODRICH.



ILLUSTRATED.



P R E F A C E .

Through a long life, Thomas A. Hendricks has served the public well and conscientiously. His biography is that of one who, having deserved well of his country, has been honored with the highest positions of trust, and who has never failed to do his duty in whatever position he has been placed. It is the biography of a statesman rather than a politician, much less a partisan, although Mr. Hendricks has ever been a strict party man. But his talents and his labors, while always at the service of the Democratic party, belong to the whole people to whose good they have been devoted at every period of his eventful public career. To recount Mr. Hendricks' services is to tell the history of the country during the years he has held a foremost place among our statesmen ; and this is briefly attempted in the following pages.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

CHAPTER I.

The Birthplace of Mr. Hendricks.—Description of His Parents.
—The Log Cabin on the Old State Road in Which the Future
Vice-President Was Born.—Traits of His Ancestry.—Their
Religion, etc.

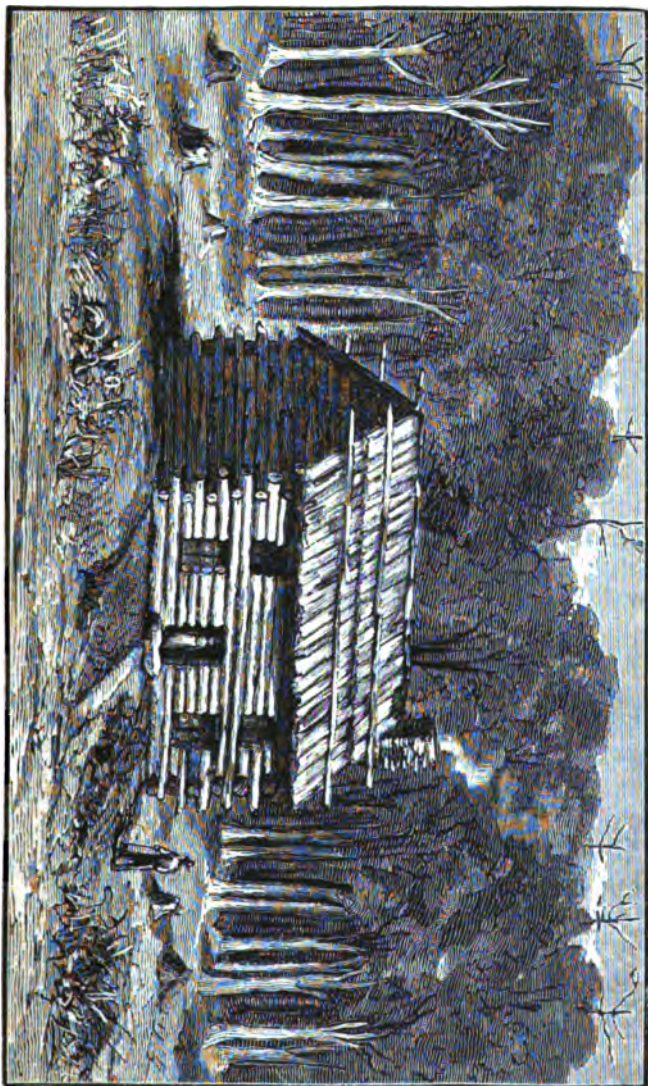
Thomas Andrews Hendricks was born on a farm near Zanesville, Muskingum county, Ohio, September 7, 1819. His father was John Hendricks, a native of Western Pennsylvania, and one of the pioneer settlers of the Ligonier Valley, in Westmoreland county of that State, in which he held many positions of trust in his lifetime, serving also in the State Legislature for a number of years. His mother was Jane Thomson, an estimable lady of Scotch descent, whose grandfather came to this country before the revolution, and acted an honorable and conspicuous part in that war. Six months after his son Thomas was born, John Hendricks removed his household goods to the adjacent State of Indiana, and settled at Madison, on the Ohio river, in which place his brother William, the second governor of Indiana, its first representative in Congress, and afterwards its senator in Washington, resided.

The elder Hendricks, Thomas' father, who was a man of unusual abilities and sterling character, obtained the position of surveyor of public lands, and fulfilled its duties with becoming dignity and untarnished honesty. In 1822 he moved his residence further into the interior of the State, and chose Shelby county, near the present site of Shelby-

ville as his abode. The substantial brick house which he built there, and in which his family was reared, is still standing.

Knowing that considerable interest would attach to the birthplace of Mr. Hendricks, the author took especial pains to secure as accurate a description of that as he could from the oldest residents of Zanesville, and it was only after considerable difficulty, and extended exploration, that he was able to locate the actual site of the log cabin in which the next vice-president was born, and of which a fairly faithful representation is presented in this book. The difficulty in locating the exact spot of the place arose mainly from the fact that his ancestral home has given way to the march of improvement, but by persevering inquiry among the oldest inhabitants of the locality, several of whom, after the wont of individuals of that class, retained vivid recollections of the place, a very correct idea of the Hendricks' home was obtained, and this idea, as before said, is faithfully represented in these pages. It is now several years ago since the place in which Mr. Hendricks first saw the light, was torn down, but on visiting the spot where it stood, in company with Mr. A. Fanly, now seventy-five years of age, who was born within two miles of the Hendricks' home, and Mr. E. Bergh, an old resident of the locality, who at one time lived for five years in the house, no difficulty was experienced in locating the site of the house, especially as the two south corners of the foundation still remain visible.

The locality is a very short distance east of Uniontown (Fultonsham P. O.), and is located on the banks of a small stream, which is locally known as Jonathan's Creek. The building, as reference to the sketch will show, was a two-story, rough log-cabin house, such as the early settlers in the Western States were in the habit, at that time, of build-



BIRTHPLACE OF HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, NEAR ZANESVILLE, OHIO.

ing. The house ran east and west, indicating thus probably the direction from which its builder had come, and the quarter in which he had settled. Its length was modest, about twenty feet, and the frontage was towards the south. It had two ceilings, something unusual in the primeval log cabins of the West, and the upper story showed two small windows, while the same number of somewhat larger ones perforated the walls of the ground story. The door opened in the center of the house, and on either side of the entrance extended the main rooms of the building.

Copying the common Western style, Mr. Hendricks, Sr., built his chimney outside of his house, on the west side. Its construction was typical of the times in which it was built. Instead of brick, which was then an unknown material in the unsettled West, sticks were used, and these were covered with mud and straw, as a sort of outer covering, to protect them against the inclemencies of the weather, and the heavy rainstorms which were characteristic of Ohio in those days.

In front of the log cabin, thus erected, a six-foot yard sloped down to the roadway, which was then designated as the "State road," and ran past the door from Zanesville to Lancaster. The house itself appears to have stood on a slight eminence, the side of an adjacent hill, which ran towards the east, and very few trees seem to have surrounded it, though a little in the rear the country was one dense growth of forest wood, which had never felt the blow of the settler's axe.

In such surroundings as these was born Thomas A. Hendricks, who has already once been chosen to the second highest office in the gift of the American people, of which, however, fraud deprived him, and who will be called upon next December to preside over the National Senate for four years, from the fourth of March, 1885.

CHAPTER II.

His Life in Shelbyville, Ohio.—His Early Education.—Studying for the Bar. — His Early Marriage and Estimable Wife.—His Legal Successes.—Elected to the State Legislature.

When John Hendricks settled in Shelby county, Indianapolis had just been laid out and established as the future capital of the State, and Mr. Hendricks' house was resorted to by people of education and refinement from all the neighborhood. He was himself the father and founder of the first Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis, where the old Scottish creed was taught in its pristine purity and vigor, and in that faith young Thomas, his son, was carefully educated.

The lad attended the village school in Shelbyville until he was of age to enter the college of South Hanover, near Madison, from which, after finishing his course, he graduated with high honors. Subsequently he entered the law office of Judge Major, then the leading member of the Shelbyville bar, and still residing in that place. From his preliminary legal studies in Judge Major's office, young Hendricks went to that of his uncle, Judge Thomson, of Chambersburg, Pa., but returned to Shelbyville to be admitted to the Indiana bar. His success was assured from the outset. His methodical ways, studious manners, his correct habits and pleasant disposition, won him favor in a very short time, and early presaged that legal prominence

which he has since acquired, not alone in Indiana, but throughout the whole country.

Self-made men, such as Mr. Hendricks seemed to be, are generally the most prosperous of all, and certainly there are few Americans who were born amid the surroundings that begirt his early years who have succeeded as well in the world as our next vice-president. Through all his life, as is easily apparent to those who study his sterling moral character, Mr. Hendricks has preserved the characteristics of his early Presbyterian training, and although he has often been highly honored by his fellow-citizens, he has ever remained the same modest individual, those who remember him in his youth say he was when he dwelt in Shelbyville, in the Buckeye State.

Mr. Hendricks married early in life. In his twenty-fifth year he wooed and won Miss Lucy C. Morgan, the beautiful daughter of accomplished parents, and no small part of his success in life has been due to the influence and guidance of that estimable lady. Mrs. Hendricks, as is well known, still lives and takes a deep interest in everything that concerns her distinguished husband. Their married life may be said to have been one perpetual honeymoon, so attached have husband and wife ever been to each other, and to visit them to-day, one is forcibly reminded of those beautiful homes poets depict, in which love eternally abides. Wherever Mr. Hendricks is, there you are certain of finding his partner in life. When he goes from home she accompanies him, and it is but a few months ago since both returned from an extensive tour throughout Europe. All Mr. Logan's stately wife is said to be to the senator from Illinois, that, and more than that, has Lucy Morgan been to Thomas A. Hendricks, and no one is readier than that gentleman himself to acknowledge the debt he owes to his accomplished and practical helpmeet.

Mr. Hendricks' law practice and his economical and thrifty mode of life soon acquired for him a competency and left him at leisure to turn to that political career for which he has exhibited so remarkable an adaptability and fitness. It would be a gross mistake, however, to conclude from the remarks made above concerning his economical and thrifty manner of living that Mr. Hendricks is, in any sense of the word, a parsimonious man. The exact contrary is the case. He is generous to every deserving charity, and his wife enjoys no small praise for her bounty to the poor. But generous though both Mr. and Mrs. Hendricks have always been in such ways, they have ever been modest in their own expenditures, and that virtue has served them in good stead, inasmuch as it has contributed in no small measure to the ease and independence they now enjoy.

It has been said that much of Mr. Hendricks' prominence in life is due to the laudable ambition of his wife, who early saw in the man of her love capabilities for great things. If this assertion be true, Mr. Hendricks is by no means the first man who owes his social station and political preferment to the wife of his bosom. Instances without number might be quoted of similar happenings, and it is an indisputable fact that women are sometimes keener to discern possibilities of success than men, and also readier to recognize capabilities in men for achieving that success than the individuals who possess those capabilities.

Three years after Mr. Hendricks married Lucy Morgan, whether the statements recorded above of that lady are true or not, we find him in the Indiana Legislature, in which he served but one year, declining a renomination that was unanimously offered him. During that brief service, however, he won for himself the reputation of being a painstaking legislator and an industrious representative of his constituents; and it was during that period also that the future

vice-president laid the foundation of that wide popular esteem in which he is held in Indiana to-day. A recent visit to that State convinced the writer of these lines that the Democratic standard-bearer is regarded with sentiments of real affection by no small proportion of its inhabitants, while it left no doubt that everywhere he is held in the highest esteem. Perhaps some portion of this feeling arises from devotion to the old ticket of 1876 ; but, independently of all that, there is a wide-spread and warm personal regard for Hendricks in the bosom of the average Hoosier, which is not shared by any other man in Indiana, except, perhaps, Joe McDonald.

CHAPTER III.

Commencement of His Political Career.—His Sterling Democracy.—Revising the Indiana Constitution.—William S. Holman and Schuyler Colfax.—Elected to Congress Twice.—His Votes on the Missouri Compromise and Fugitive Slave Bill.—His Return to Shelbyville.

It is hardly necessary to say that Mr. Hendricks has always been a Democrat in his political belief. His Democracy is of the sterling Andrew Jackson type, and in fiber he is wonderfully akin to what Silas Wright and William L. Marcy were in their day. Even to the present day his political principles have not altered one bit, and, when the Electoral Commission of 1877 counted out the rightfully chosen president and vice-president of the country, Mr. Hendricks was vehement in his denunciations of that Republican outrage, and was in favor of protesting against it in the only practical way such a protest could be made, viz: by going to Washington in person and demanding that the proper authorities administer to him the oath of the office to which the people had undoubtedly elected him. It is safe, consequently, to say that neither fraud nor force will prevent him from presiding over the Senate from 1885 till 1889.

After resigning his seat in the State Legislature in 1850, Mr. Hendricks returned to his law practice, but his fellow-citizens, who had become acquainted of his worth and ability, despite his youthful years, chose him a member of a constitutional convention which was called that year, and

to which such men as William S. Holman and Schuyler Colfax, then in the possession of an honest reputation, and not yet smirched with Credit Mobilier falsehoods, were elected.

Mr. Hendricks, as the records of this constitutional convention show, took a prominent part in its debates and won himself such additional fame that he was almost immediately chosen to a seat in Congress from the central district of the State, then extending from Brown county on the south to Tipton county on the north, and embracing all the district between Marion county on the east and Hendricks on the west. His opponent was Colonel Rush of Hancock, who fell behind by nearly 4,000 votes.

The new State constitution, which went into effect that year, required the holding of another congressional election in 1882, and again Mr. Hendricks, running in a new district, was triumphantly returned to Congress. His second opponent was Mr. Bradley, an able and brilliant Whig, between whom and Mr. Hendricks ensued a series of joint debates, the first time such style of campaigning was introduced into Indiana, where it is still in vogue in some places.

Mr. Hendricks was not so fortunate in pleasing his constituents in his second term as he had been in his first. During that year the question of the Missouri Compromise came up and he voted for it, taking his stand on the ground of popular sovereignty. His constituents, who never questioned the conscientiousness of his vote, were nevertheless displeased with it, and showed their displeasure by electing Lucien Barbour over him in 1854, thus sending for the first time a Republican congressman from the Capital district of Indiana to Washington. Mr. Barbour is no longer living.

On the 4th of March, 1855, consequently, Mr. Hendricks

left Washington, after two terms in Congress, and again betook himself to the practice of the law in Shelbyville.

Thirty years ago there were many important questions debated in Congress. The increasing growth of the country which was then progressing with rapid strides, and the necessity Congress was under of formulating new laws to meet the exigencies of that growth, made it incumbent upon the members of that body to be intelligent, painstaking and laborious legislators. Without going into any details of the measures which were then considered by Congress, and which would, if recalled, possess but very little interest to the readers of to-day, it is sufficient to say that an examination of the Congressional Records of those years shows that Mr. Hendricks took a prominent part in all the debates, and that his position, judged by the principles and policy his party then followed, was invariably correct. The experience he had gained in the Indiana Legislature no doubt aided him much in Washington; but Mr. Hendricks appears to have been born with a special fitness for the duties of a lawmaker, and his record shows that he always acquitted himself faithfully of those duties. It has been objected to him lately, that he was in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law; but so was the majority of his party, which at that time recognized that slavery was a legal institution in the Southern States, and which upheld the right of the slave-owners to claim their property wherever they found it. It is too late in the day now to rake up the anti-slavery record of any man, because many of our foremost and most honored public men since the war were, prior to that event, defenders, or at least apologists of slavery, and certainly the Republican party, which has nominated for the vice-presidency Hon. John A. Logan of Illinois, who not only, thirty years ago, favored the Fugitive Slave Law, but constituted himself an enforcer of that measure and boasted that he was proud to do "the dirty

work" it required of him, should be very slow in accusing Mr. Hendricks of having voted and spoken in favor of the passage of such an act.

On all general questions, while he sat in Congress, Mr. Hendricks showed a broad conception of the laws necessary for the rapid growth of the country and exhibited a ripe wisdom and sound judgment in the support he gave such measures. His honesty was above suspicion, his integrity was never questioned, nor his motives impugned. He won the respect of all his colleagues and retained the confidence and support of his constituents.

CHAPTER IV.

He is Appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office.—Nominated for Governor.—Removes from Shelbyville to Indianapolis.—Enters into Law Partnership.—Becomes a Member and Warden of the Episcopal Church.

When Mr. Hendricks returned to Shelbyville after his second term in Congress had been completed, he probably contemplated devoting himself thenceforth to the practice of his profession. But if such was his intention, he was not allowed to fulfill it. He returned to Shelbyville in March, 1855, and in the following August, as he was sitting one evening on the porch of his residence, a messenger stepped up to him and handed him an autograph letter from President Pierce, in which he was tendered the position of Commissioner of the General Land Office. Mr. Hendricks was at first disposed to refuse the proffered honor; but, yielding to the arguments of his father whom he consulted before taking any steps in the matter, he changed his mind and accepted the place.

September, 1855, therefore, found him again in Washington, entering upon his new duties which he fulfilled in his characteristically thorough and honest manner for the four subsequent years, when, tiring of the routine of official work, he sent in his resignation and once more set out for Shelbyville to engage in legal pursuits.

But fate decreed otherwise for him. The year 1860 was

memorable in politics, and the Democratic party, which was being assailed vigorously by its Republican opponents, and which was also divided in Indiana, felt the necessity of putting up a strong man for governor, and its leaders, casting about them, decided that Hon. Thomas Andrews Hendricks was the best man they could nominate for that position. Consequently they asked him to stand; and, loyal always to his party, he consented, though he felt at the time that he was marching to defeat. His opponent was Colonel Henry S. Lane, who had for his Lieutenant Oliver P. Morton, who had four years previously made a brilliant but unsuccessful campaign against Ashbel P. Willard. The Democratic party was split into the Douglas and Breckinridge factions, Jesse D. Bright, the leader of the latter, evidently feeling the loss of his "grip" on the party, while the Republicans were in the flush of hopeful vigor. The result was the triumphant election of Lane and Morton, and again Mr. Hendricks was at leisure to return to his law books, which he accordingly did. He made a change in the location of his office at this time, transferring that from Shelbyville to Indianapolis, where he entered into partnership with Oscar B. Hard, afterwards attorney-general of Indiana.

Mr. Hendricks was not long in making his mark in Indianapolis, and he soon took a leading position at the bar, and, it is almost unnecessary to add, has maintained his place there since. Before passing on to the later phases of Mr. Hendricks' life, it may not be out of place to say here that the only fruit of his marriage with Miss Morgan was one son, who was born in 1848, and who lived only three years, the death sorely afflicting the father, who grieved over his loss for a long while.

Mr. Hendricks remained in the Presbyterian church until the establishment of St. Paul's Episcopal church in Indian-

apolis, when he became a member of that fold and was elected senior warden. He is also a charter member of the Wellsville Order of Odd Fellows, though it is said he has not for many years actively participated in the work of that association.

CHAPTER V.

Elected United States Senator.—Serves as the Colleague of Senator Lane and Senator Morton.—Speaks in Favor of an Eight Hour Law for Laborers.—The Recognized Leader of Democracy in the National Senate.—Runs for Governor Again and is Elected.

The Legislature of Indiana in 1862—63 was a Democratic one. Hence when Jesse D. Bright, senator from that State, was expelled from his seat in Washington, it was a foregone conclusion that his successor would be a Democrat. Only eighteen days remained of Mr. Bright's term, and the Indiana legislators sent David S. Turpie to Washington to sit in the Senate for that length of time, while they unanimously elected Thomas Andrews Hendricks his successor for the full term of six years. Once more, in consequence, Mr. Hendricks bade adieu to his law office and books and betook himself to the National capital, where, on the 4th of March 1863, he took his seat in the Senate as the representative of the Hoosier State.

He served the whole six years of his appointment, four years as the colleague of Senator Lane and two as that of Senator Oliver P. Morton. With his services in that capacity the public is familiar. One thing, however, may be mentioned pertinently in his favor at this time, when the interests of the working classes are being given such prominence. When Mr. Hendricks was senator a measure was introduced to limit to eight the number of hours in which

the employés of the Federal government should be required to work. Mr. Hendricks at once favored such an enactment and made a strong and eloquent speech in favor of it, in the course of which he said that he believed eight hours of faithful and conscientious labor were all that should be required of any man, and he thought that if such a standard was fixed the labor would be better performed and the health and welfare of the laborer would be improved vastly.

The Indiana senator became, in a great measure the leader of the Democratic minority in the National Senate during the closing years of his term, and his eminent abilities and oratorical powers have acknowledgment from his opponents. He has been blamed somewhat by Republicans for his votes upon certain questions, but his honesty and his motives were never impugned; and when he quitted Washington, at the end of his term, he took away with him the esteem and respect of all who had sat with him in the upper house.

While he was yet a senator, the Democrats of Indiana nominated Mr. Hendricks a second time for governor of their commonwealth. Loyal as ever to the call of his party, he accepted the nomination and stood against Conrad Baker, the Republican candidate in the contest of 1869. At this time there was considerable of a temperance movement in Indiana, and Mr. Hendricks was defeated by Baker, who secured about 800 majority. Nothing disturbed by that result, Senator Hendricks once again betook himself to his profession under the firm name of Hendricks, Hard and Hendricks, and enjoyed a very lucrative practice, which added greatly to the competence he had already acquired, as the firm was one of the most prominent in the city of Indianapolis and secured a majority of the best cases. The youngest member of the firm, Abram W. Hendricks, was a

cousin of the ex-senator, and, singularly enough, a Republican, but a strictly honest and guileless one.

In 1872 came another bitter gubernatorial contest in Indiana, and again was Mr. Hendricks summoned by his party to be its standard-bearer. With the same alacrity with which he had accepted its invitations when these led to defeat, he came forward now to guide it to victory. The temperance vote came to his aid this time, he having spoken in approval and defense of the "Baxter Bill," which embodied the ideas of the temperance party, and although his opponent was a strong man, none less than General Thomas M. Browne, Mr. Hendricks was chosen by a plurality of over 1200 votes; and, what showed the great strength of popularity of the man, he was the only Democrat on the ticket, except the superintendent of public instruction, who owed his victory to other than political causes, who was elected.

Governor Hendricks made an urbane, careful, thorough and painstaking magistrate, and during his term corrected many abuses, and introduced several reforms, which tended greatly to improve the administration of State affairs. When he retired from office he carried with him the respect of all persons, irrespective of parties, and it is admitted in Indiana even to-day that he made one of the best, if not the very best governor the State ever had the happiness of being governed by.

CHAPTER VI.

A Review of Governor Hendricks' Administration.—His Services to his Party.—How he Aided the Democracy in Ohio and other States.—Extracts from one of his Campaign Speeches.—A Scathing Review of Republican Dishonesty.

On questions of State policy, Governor Hendricks during his administration showed a knowledge and an interest which were productive of great good to the commonwealth. About the school question he was especially solicitous, and as a member of the Constitutional Convention he was active in securing a liberal provision for popular education which placed it beyond the reach of the dangers of changes in party control. As governor he protected the policy which he had taken so large a part in forming, and the result is seen in the high standard maintained in the educational system of Indiana.

His report in his own State made him a valuable ally in the contests which, ten years ago, were waged so stoutly in States adjoining, notably in Ohio. He was called upon in the campaign of 1875, in that State, to aid his old friend Governor Allen, who was nominated for re-election; and his address at Gainsville, Ohio, may be taken as well representing the vigor of his thought on matters of public policy and the force of his manner of stating his views. A few extracts from this address will serve for illustration:

“When evils become intolerable, the remedy of the people is in a change of administration. That is your policy, even



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in private life. You do not continue an agent under whose management your capital disappears and your debts increase ; and even when you do not see the cause, and cannot locate the fault, you will organize a change before your ruin is complete. Your physician is not continued, although he may have your confidence, after you see that he is not prepared to contend with the calamities that threaten your family. You will not sacrifice all your little flock to a former devotion.

“Of course you know that the leaders propose no reforms. The present policies and conduct of private affairs, in their judgment, reaches the summit of human wisdom ; and General Grant’s administration furnishes the world and coming generations the model to be initiated and the example to be followed. In their speeches this year, they say that, in respect to its efforts to promote the purity of the public service, it eclipses all Democratic administrations, and that no president has come out of the office cleaner than General Grant. If so, it is plain that no change should be made. In their State platform they declare to you that ‘because of the distinguished success of his administration,’ President Grant is entitled to the gratitude of his countrymen. If, indeed, that be sincerely stated, and you really regard his administration as separated from all others by its superior qualities and extraordinary excellence, then, as true men, you want no change in the conduct of public affairs, but you desire that, as this administration is, so its successor shall be.”

Then Governor Hendricks proceeded to sketch in a forcible manner the career of the Republican administration, showing in what way it was unworthy the support that was claimed for it. Among other things he said :

“As connected with and having a very important influence upon the business and financial condition of the country, it

is my duty to call your attention to the extravagant expenditure of money by the General Government. The last report of the secretary of the treasury shows that for the year ending June 30, 1874, the 'net ordinary expenditures, exclusive of the public debt,' amounted to \$285,738,800.21. The interest paid that year on the public debt was \$107,119,815.21; the amount paid on pensions \$29,038,414.66, —making together \$136,158,229.87. Deduct the interest and pensions from the net expenditures, and there remains \$149,580,571.34. That sum represents the ordinary payments for one year, after deducting everything that resulted from the war. I have seen it stated that the expenditure for the same purposes during the last year amounted to about \$145,000,000; but I am not able to speak accurately, as the secretary has made no report of that year. Before the war the ordinary expenditures were from fifty to sixty millions; sometimes going above that, because of extraordinary demands. Do you not think two dollars for one, or about one hundred millions, ought to be sufficient? Yet they now require nearly three to one. Favoritism always costs the people heavily, but it seems strange how pretexts can be found for \$150,000,000. Will you vote to indorse such expenditures?

"Closely connected with the extravagance is the immorality which pervades the public service. This, too, calls for your attentive consideration, and your sincere efforts at reform. It impairs your revenues, and disturbs public confidence. Need I particularize? It is known to you, at least in part. What department is free from taint? In the Post-Office Department it extends from the conspiracy to defraud the Government in the mail lettings, involving immense sums, down to the petty pilfering in the repair of mail-bags in the neighborhood of the Post-Office at Indianapolis. The Treasury Department has been singularly unfortunate.

During the four years in which Mr. Guthrie was at its head there were no defaults, and there was no money lost; but of late years long lists of defaulting officers have been published; and recently large numbers of officers in the Internal Revenue service have been detected in complicated and enormous frauds. The Department of Justice, under the management of the late attorney-general, became the instrument of injustice. Cruel in its political prosecutions, and unscrupulous in the use of the public money for political purposes, it became the object of general suspicion and distrust. Arkansas and North Carolina were the scenes of its most audacious misappropriation of money.

“Will it be proper for me to speak of the Interior Department? An Ohio man is at its head. I will speak of the Indian service only. In former administrations the entire cost of that service was but about \$3,000,000, when the Indians were more numerous than now. During Mr. Lincoln’s administration, that was about the cost of the service. In his message of December, 1863, he says that for the prior year the payment on account of pensions and Indians amounted to \$4,216,520.79. I suppose the pension-list was then something above \$1,000,000, leaving the Indian expenditures \$3,000,000. The last official report shows the expenditure for the Indian service alone \$6,692,462.09. It has more than doubled. For improved administration you would pay more money; but where are the fruits of the large expenditure?

“What answer is made to the people when they complain of this most extraordinary condition of the service? Will this plea for the party be received, that, considering the magnitude of the service, there ‘never has been a period in the history of the Government when there has been less fraud or peculation, or as little as now?’ There are old gentlemen who hear me to-day, whose memories go back

to a better time—to a period when there was such pure statesmanship and such exalted official integrity as inspired the world with a higher confidence in free Republican institutions ; to a period when one single case of default aroused the indignation of the whole country, and precipitated the downfall of an administration.

“Do you not perceive, my fellow-citizens, that for all public evils your only remedy is in a change of administration ? This you know, that when a party has been long in power, and controls great patronage and large sums of money, all adventurers, and those who seek to make money out of politics, work their way not only within its ranks, but into positions of influence and party control. Naturally enough they become active managers, giving their money liberally ; and, by taking charge of primary elections and conventions, they control, in many instances, the nominations. Their hold is hard to break ; and it becomes the interest of politicians to conciliate rather than fight them. That is the reason, as I suppose, why it is so difficult, if not impossible, for a party to correct abuses and evils within its own organization.

“That you are convinced there should be a change of national administration, I cannot question. Such changes are made upon assurances of better conduct, and of measures more consistent with the interests of the people. You may be misled ; but in all efforts at reform we must trust each other somewhat. Deceived, disappointed, and dissatisfied, will you avail yourselves of your only remedy ? I appreciate the fact, that former convictions, prejudices, and associations stand in the way of thousands of good men whose sympathies are with the Democracy and Liberals upon the pending questions. I cannot doubt that their present convictions in respect to the welfare of the country will control their action. They know that even in times of

the most bitter conflict they respect many of the sentiments of our party, especially those in earnest sympathy with the interests of the masses of the people. They can not and will not remain separate from the organized body of men that will give these sentiments practical force and meaning. They know that our principles will endure and bring practical results. May I quote myself in saying that 'organizations may be broken, and pass away, but Democracy cannot die. It is endowed with the immortality of truth and right. Wherever, in all lands, men aspire to higher, freer, better government, and purer liberty; wherever there is the sentiment that government is made for man, and not man for government,—there is the spirit of Democracy that will endure, and yet achieve man's enfranchisement and elevation'? He was a great man who said, 'There can be no free government without a Democratical branch in the Constitution.' May I not add, 'There can be no free policies or administrative measures, promoting popular rights, without the Democratical element and sentiment?' "

CHAPTER VII.

Winning National Honors.—Looked Upon by Democrats Everywhere as One of the Strongest Men in their Party.—His Appearance as a Vice-Presidential Candidate in 1868.—Division in the Indiana Delegation.—His Nomination at St. Louis in 1876.

Mr. Hendricks was now one of the foremost Democrats of the whole country and recognized as such by his party everywhere. Having been in turn State-legislator, congressman, senator and governor, and having proven himself a grand success and an incorruptible man in every position he held, it was no wonder that the National Democracy began to regard him as a man who might restore the party to the power which passed from its hands in 1860.

In the convention of 1868 there was some attempt made to nominate Mr. Hendricks for the presidency, but the unfortunate fact that he was antagonized in that meeting by a portion of the Indiana delegates, under the leadership of Richard J. Bright defeated such a move.

In 1872 his nomination for gubernatorial honors in Indiana kept his name out of the National Democratic Convention, but his success in the Hoosier State that year made him a prominent candidate in 1876 in the St. Louis Convention. Unfortunately for his chances, however, the same division in the Indiana delegation which defeated him in 1868, appeared against him here. Whether, with a united delegation in his favor, he could have secured the nomina-

tion from Mr. Tilden is a question that is not worth discussing here. Mr. Tilden was a very strong man in the St. Louis Convention. Fresh from a splendid reform administration in New York, and showing himself possessed of immense popularity in the great Empire State, the Sage of Gramercy Park was a giant in himself in those days, and to be beaten by him in a national convention was no reproach to any man, no matter how prominent he might be in the ranks of the Democratic party. The result of the balloting was, as everybody knows, the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden, the great reform governor of New York, for the presidency, notwithstanding that considerable opposition was shown at the outset by no inconsiderable portion of the New York delegation.

When the St. Louis Convention, however, had named Mr. Tilden for the first place on the Democratic ticket, and made his nomination unanimous, it turned with one accord to the reform governor of Indiana, Hon. Thomas Andrews Hendricks of Indianapolis, and offered him the vice-presidency, which he accepted with that readiness and obedience he had on all previous occasions shown to the behests of the Democratic party.

It would be superfluous to detail at great length here the vigorous way in which the Democratic party waged the campaign of 1876. Cheered on by the almost certain prospect of victory and encouraged by seeing large numbers of honest Republicans deserting the Republican ranks through disgust with the corruption of their party and the abuses and evils of Grantism, the Democrats forced the fighting all along the line and waged one of the most vigorous campaigns the country ever witnessed. The Republican candidate was confessedly a weak man, one who was not known to but a small portion of the citizens and who had no record whatever. Again, the disorganized state of the Republican

party, which was more or less divided *by internal factions,* added to the hopes the Democrats *entertained of electing* their ticket.

It must not be supposed, however, *that the Republicans* were idle or showed any disposition *to give up the fight.* Far from it. For sixteen years fed at the public crib and in possession of all the fat offices, they were in no humor to loosen their hold upon the power they had enjoyed and abused so long, and, consequently they strained every effort to defeat the Democracy and elect Hayes and Wheeler, their own nominees. They put the shrewdest wire-pullers in charge of the campaign; they bled the monopolies they had protected, and forced the capitalists they had benefited by dishonest legislation to contribute large sums to the party exchequer; they lied infamously about their opponents and strove in every way to disparage the nominees of the Democratic party, and yet what was the result? But of this more anon.

CHAPTER VIII.

The St. Louis Convention of 1876.—Marked Difference Between it and the Republican One.—Parke Godwin's Ideas on this Point.—Strong Commendation of Governor Hendricks.—Absurdity of the Objections to his Position on the Question of Finance.

Before proceeding farther in the history of the presidential campaign of 1876, it may not be out of place here to detail, somewhat at length, the events which took place in the early part of that contest. It has already been stated that Mr. Hendricks was nominated for the vice-presidency by the delegates at St. Louis. That the convention which conferred this honor upon the Indiana statesman was no ordinary one, and that his nomination by it was, in consequence, no trivial distinction, may be gathered from this contrast drawn by a distinguished New York editor between it and the one which nominated Mr. Hayes :

“There is a profound and essential difference between the action of the Republican Convention at Cincinnati and that of the Democratic Convention at St. Louis ; and it is something which the American people cannot too carefully or too wisely consider. It is something plain and easy to understand, and the simplest statement is sufficient to make it palpable to any mind.

“In each of these conventions there were two great and distinctly defined parties or divisions, and these divisions were quite as broadly marked among the Republicans as

mong the Democrats. One of these divisions was composed of reformers, men desiring to put an end to corruption, venality, and fraud in legislation and administration; while the other division just as earnestly desired to perpetuate the existing system.

"In the Republican Convention the reformers were promptly voted down. They had Benjamin H. Bristow, a well-tried reformer, for their candidate, but the highest number of votes he received was 126 out of 756, the remainder being divided between Messrs. Blaine, Conkling, Morton and Hartranft, the chief of them a notoriously corrupt man, and all of them representing nothing but the present corrupt system. Finally, after a vehement struggle, one-sixth of the whole convention, Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Grant's particular friend, and himself a most distinguished representative of corruption, in order to prevent the nomination of Blaine, whom Grant hated, although he was the most corrupt candidate of all, selected, as a compromise, a neutral man of decent reputation and not in the least a reformer; and he received the nomination of the party. The reformers were thus signally defeated, and their candidate, Mr. Bristow, promptly recognized his defeat by abandoning his fight for reform, resigning his place in the Cabinet, and going home to private life.

"This was the way it was done in the Republican Convention; but in the Democratic Convention it was not so. There was the same struggle there between the reform party and the party of thievery and corruption, the one having Samuel J. Tilden as their candidate, and the other having taken up various other candidates for the purpose of beating the reformers. Yet on the first ballot Mr. Tilden had more than 400 votes out of 759, and on the second ballot he had

more than two-thirds of the whole convention, and was nominated on a thorough-going reform platform.

"This, then, is the difference of which we speak. The Republicans voted down reform and nominated a candidate pledged to the continuance of the old system; while the Democrats voted down corruption, took reform for their platform, and adopted the most eminent practical reformer in the country as their candidate. Think well of these things, fellow-citizens, and then decide how you ought to vote in November."

Another distinguished New-Yorker, Parke Godwin, the eminent editor, reviewing the platform adopted by the convention which put Mr. Hendricks in nomination for the second highest office in the gift of the American people, spoke as follows :

"The platform adopted at St. Louis reads to me, from beginning to end, as an earnest and vigorous cry for a better condition of things. It is clear, outspoken and positive, evading no real issues, and treating those it touches with refreshing boldness and decision. The philosophy of politics which pervades its general utterances is, to my mind, the soundest, greatest, truest that the human mind has yet attained. It is the philosophy on which our institutions are distinctively built. The enormous centralization which has grown up since the war—almost imperceptibly perhaps—it denounces, as the most formidable danger in our existing position; and while it frankly and manfully accepts the war and the legislative results of the war, in a permanent and unchangeable settlement of a conflict now forever past, it demands a thorough regeneration of essential political practice and doctrines. It demands a reduction in the public expenditures; it demands a re-adjustment of our costly and oppressive modes of taxation; it demands a cessation in the profligate misuse and waste of the public lands; it de-

demands a reorganization of the civil service, which is a fruitful source of the prevailing corruption ; it demands a change in the bad practice which has rendered appointments to office the reward for service to congressmen and senators ; it demands frugality, simplicity, capacity and honesty in all public offices ; and last, though not least, it demands in the place of that imbecile, dilatory, inefficient and deceptive policy which has hitherto marked the treatment of the currency problem, instantaneous, active, systematic and rigorous effort for the restoration of a sound financial condition."

And referring to the objections which certain Republicans who had become disgusted with Grantism, and were consequently in favor of voting for its destruction, alleged against Mr. Hendricks, the same trenchant writer said, and in reading the subjoined quotation the reader should bear in mind that its writer was formerly a staunch Republican, and consequently apt to magnify whatever defects his eyes were able to discern in Mr. Hendricks' record, and he should also recollect that the address from which the words below are taken was addressed, not to Democrats, but to Independent Republicans, a good number of whom declare they will vote in favor of Mr. Hendricks this year, and to whom consequently the words of Mr. Godwin are especially commended, seeing that not a few of the Republican organs are declaring that no man who was ever a Republican should cast a vote for the Democratic nominee for the vice-presidency. These are Mr. Godwin's ideas :

"But admitting Tilden to be all right, there is Hendricks nominated with him for the vice-presidency ! Now, the vice-president has no legislative function whatever, save in one not very probable contingency—the death of the president. But supposing he should not live, Mr. Hendricks, in accepting the nomination, puts himself upon the Democratic platform. He may, like Mr. Ferry, whom the Republican

Senate made vice-president, have entertained loose notions of money; he may, like Mr. Morton, one of the leading candidates at Cincinnati, have given in unduly to a transient hallucination of his State; he may, like Mr. Sherman, chairman of the finance committee of the Senate, prefer greenbacks to banknotes; but whatever his views in these respects, he now stands up for the principles enunciated at St. Louis, which are henceforth the accredited creed of his party. Unless a thoroughly base and dishonest man, which no one has yet averred, he must abide by the policy to which he is so solemnly committed."

CHAPTER IX.

Hendricks and Hard Money.—Prevalence of Greenbackism.—A Decade of Years Ago.—Mr. Hendricks' Sympathetic and Kindly Nature.—Extracts from his Speeches and Writings.—Why he Supported Governor Allen in Ohio.—A Better Hard-Money Man than Rutherford B. Hayes.

The idea voiced by Mr. Parke Godwin in the quotation made in the last chapter from his writings in regard to Mr. Hendricks' position on the hard-money question seems to call for a more extended sketch of his views on that question eight years ago, and such a sketch is subjoined here.

At the beginning of the clamor for more money, in the fall of 1873, Mr. Hendricks was not called upon to express his opinions on financial questions, though he was then governor of the State. His convictions on this topic, however, were based on solid Democratic principles, but it was a part of his sympathetic nature to sympathize more with the distress he saw about him in every direction rather than to preach the narrow and difficult path of salvation through adherence to fixed dogmas.

Furthermore, the question of hard or soft money, thirteen years ago, was a very difficult and delicate one to solve. A good many people firmly believed that unlimited quantities of paper money, issued on the faith of the Government, was the true American theory of finance, and the strength of popular conviction then prevalent that relief for the existing distress was possible through inflation cannot be overestimated. Others knew that such an issue of irredeemable

paper would only afford temporary relief to be followed by greater disaster, but hoped to be safe before the storm that they foresaw would eventually come, and were only solicitous to escape the trouble in which they then found themselves. Then, again, it is to be remembered that the Greenback idea prevailed to an enormous extent in the Western States, and that the leading men in that section of the country were for the time being completely carried away with it, while it should not be forgotten that, in view of the recent decision of the Supreme Court, the soft money idea has been in a certain sense vindicated.

Under the circumstances, therefore, the course of Governor Hendricks, when it became his duty to take an active part in the discussion of the issues of the day, in the canvass of 1874, was wise and manly.

He presided over the Democratic Convention held in July, at Indianapolis, and in his address on taking the chair, argued that gold and silver were the true basis of our currency, and that the proper method of returning to specie payments was through the growing-up process—the development of the resources of the South, the increase of production, and the retrenchment of public and private expenditures. The platform adopted by the Convention was an essentially unsound one, so far as the financial planks are concerned; and in the subsequent canvass Mr. Hendricks took occasion to define distinctly the points of difference between its doctrines and his own opinions.

In illustration of Mr. Hendricks' teachings at this time, we give an extract from his address to the Democratic Convention. After arguing against the hasty contraction of our paper circulation, checking labor and paralyzing enterprise on the one hand, and against undue inflation, which would lead to depreciation and a reckless spirit of speculation and adventure on the other, he said :

"We desire a return to specie payments. It is a serious evil when there are commercial mediums of different values; when one description of money is for one class and purpose, and another for a different class and purpose. We cannot too strongly express the importance of the policy that shall restore uniformity of value to all the money of the country, so that it shall be always and readily convertible. That gold and silver are the real standard of value is a cherished Democratic sentiment, not now nor hereafter to be abandoned. But I do not look to any arbitrary enactment of Congress for a restoration of specie payments. Such an effort now would probably produce wide-spread commercial disaster. A Congressional declaration cannot make the paper currency equal to gold in value—it cannot make a bank-note equal to your dollar. The business of the country alone can do that. When we find the coin of the country increasing, then we may know that we are moving in the direction of specie payments. The important financial question is, how can we increase and make permanent our supply of gold? The reliable solution is by increasing our productions and thereby reducing our purchases and increasing our sales abroad. He can readily obtain money who produces more than he consumes of articles that are wanted in the market, and I suppose that is also true of communities and nations. How can the Republican party atone to the people for its evil policies which have driven gold from the country and rendered a return to specie payment more difficult, and made its postponement inevitable?"

In reality, Governor Hendricks was probably a more genuine hard-money man than Governor Hayes, and would perhaps differ from him on financial policy only in his opposition to national banks and his willingness to substitute Government notes for bank circulation.

His action in going into the Ohio canvass in 1875, in sup-

port of Mr. Allen, was based upon the desire for the success of the Democracy. He deemed the triumph of the party in that State essential, and threw himself into the canvass heartily, holding that the financial issue was not the overshadowing one. The great thing to gain was victory, no matter whether some of the men in the same ranks agreed with him on all points in politics or not.

CHAPTER X.

August Belmont's Testimony to the Soundness of Governor Hendricks' Financial Views. — In No Sense a "Representative Inflationist." — Strong Words in Favor of Resumption. — Mr. Hendricks Always Believed that Gold and Silver Are the Real Standards of Value. — He Vindicates the Act of 1869.

The attitude of Mr. Hendricks on the financial question is one which the Republican press and orators have in years past so misrepresented that the writer feels justified in submitting here the following testimony in Mr. Hendricks' favor, and in support of the solidity of his views on the matter. During the campaign of 1876, E. W. Stoughton, having vehemently and unjustly assailed Governor Hendricks and misrepresented his views on this point, August Belmont, the eminent New York banker, who assuredly would not commend any man tainted with financial heresy, wrote this letter to the New York Herald:

"Since Mr. E. W. Stoughton, nearly two years ago, made his gallant *sortie* from the ranks of the Democratic party to relieve General Grant in the difficulties caused by Federal usurpation in Louisiana, until Wednesday evening at the Republican ratification meeting in Cooper Union, he confesses to have taken no 'active part in the politics of our country, which, rightly understood, is that science or method by which all its elective officers are selected, nominated and chosen by the people.' This definition is so highly original and novel that it will be a pity if the new

philosophy of 'the politics of our country' should prove a failure owing to the indiscretion or inexperience of its parent and parentee.

"I do not now refer to Mr. Stoughton's confidence in the Republican party, which, having sole power and responsibility, first made paper evidences of Government indebtedness a legal tender in payment of the debts of private citizens, and which, instead of performing its promises, has, while annually professing it would perform them, during eleven years of peace, 'annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto;' nor do I now refer to his valuable guarantee that the Republican party can now be trusted to redeem the nation's dishonored pledge merely because it has made one now impossible profession, having meanwhile done absolutely nothing to fulfill it—nothing to fulfill a single one of the promises engraved upon more than \$369,000,000 of legal tender notes—which legally defraud either debtor or creditor in every payment or sale among 45,000,000 of people. Still less do I refer to Mr. Stoughton's intrepid account of the position of Governor Hendricks, whom he not only styles a 'representative inflationist' (a character he has always rejected and disclaimed, but to whom he would also ascribe an attempt toward repudiation in some form). * * * 'Perhaps in payments by promises, in accordance with the theory of Hendricks and his followers.' For Mr. Stoughton, in his previous confessedly negligent performance of the high duty of taking part in his new 'science or method' of distributing office has taken the liberty to be ignorant of the speech made by Governor Hendricks in Indianapolis, September 14, 1874, indorsed, too, by the victorious Democracy of Indiana in the subsequent election, in which speech he said :

" 'By the first act which President Grant signed in 1869 the faith and honor of the country are pledged to the pay-

ment (of the interest-bearing obligations of the United States) in gold. * * * What is the effect of the act of 1869 pledging payment in gold? Upon that question I have no doubts. Congress passed it and the president approved and signed it. They had the constitutional power. * * * Their acts, within the sphere of their power, bind the people. Millions of the bonds have since been sold, and the purchasers must be paid in accordance with the pledge given. * * * A lower standard cannot be set up for the Government than that which measures the rights and liabilities of individuals.'

"The same act of 1869, of which Governor Hendricks thus demonstrates the sanctity, includes in its binding pledge not merely the bonds, but also the legal tenders. It reads:

" 'The faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment, in coin or its equivalent, of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver.'

"It is, perhaps, a canon of the new 'science or method' of distributing office that every neophyte shall describe as an 'inflationist' and 'repudiator' any Democratic statesman who, like Governor Hendricks, has demanded the honorable fulfillment of a pledge of Congress, even when believed improvident, a favor to bondholders and a wrong to taxpayers."

In a public speech at Indianapolis on the 14th of September, 1874, Mr. Hendricks used some words which may throw additional light on this subject, and convince the doubters that he was never in favor of dishonest money. His public words were:

"By the first act which President Grant signed in 1869, the faith and honor of the country are pledged to the payment of the interest-bearing obligations of the United States in gold. * * * What is the effect of the act of 1869, pledging payment in gold? Congress passed it, and the president approved and signed it. They had the constitutional power. * * * Their acts, within the sphere of their power, bind the people. Millions of the bonds have since been sold, and the purchasers must be paid in accordance with the pledge given. * * * A lower standard cannot be set up for the Government than that which measures the rights and liabilities of individuals."

And this act of 1869, of which Governor Hendricks thus vindicated the sanctity and obligations, included in its binding pledge not merely the bonds, but also the legal tenders of the Government, for it read :

"The faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment, in coin or its equivalent, of the obligations of the United States, not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold or silver."

Two more short quotations from Governor Hendricks on this question, which is already being quoted against him, and we are done with it. While he was chief magistrate of Indiana, Mr. Hendricks used the two^o subjoined sentences in public addresses, and they ought to convince any unbiassed mind that he never went far astray, even if he ever wandered, on the financial question. Here are the sentences :

"Every interest will be strengthened by increasing the supply of coin."

"No one desires a return to specie payments more earnestly than myself, for I believe gold and silver are the real standard of values."

CHAPTER XI.

Governor Hendricks Accepts the Vice-Presidential Nomination of the St. Louis Convention.—His Letter to the National Committee.—A Powerful Plea for Reform and Economic Administration.—Full Text of a Remarkable Document.—In Thorough Accord With Governor Tilden.—Sharp Arraignment of Republican Rascality.

We have already shown how Mr. Hendricks was nominated for the vice-presidency by the National Convention of 1876, at St. Louis. When he was notified of the honor, his fellow-Democrats had conferred upon him, he lost no time in returning the nominating committee his thanks, and informing them of his acceptance of the nomination tendered him. It may be interesting to read in what manner he replied to the St. Louis Convention, which nominated him eight years ago. This is the letter of acceptance. Mr. Hendricks then said to the nominating committee :

“INDIANAPOLIS, July 24th, 1876.

“GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, in which you have formally notified me of my nomination, by the National Democratic Convention, at St. Louis, as their candidate for the office of vice-president of the United States. It is a nomination which I had neither expected nor desired ; and yet I recognize and appreciate the high honor done me by the Convention. The choice of such a body, pronounced with such unusual unanimity, and accompanied with so generous an expression of esteem and confidence, ought to outweigh all

merely personal desires and preferences of my own. It is with this feeling, and I trust also from a deep sense of public duty, that I shall now accept the nomination, and shall abide the judgment of my countrymen.

“It would have been impossible for me to accept the nomination if I could not heartily indorse the platform of the Convention. I am gratified, therefore, to be able unequivocally to declare that I agree in the principles, approve the policies, and sympathize with the purposes enunciated in that platform.

“The institutions of our country have been sorely tried by the exigencies of civil war, and, since the peace, by selfish and corrupt management of public affairs, which has shamed us before civilized mankind. By unwise and partial legislation every industry and interest of the people have been made to suffer, and in the executive departments of the Government dishonesty, rapacity and venality have debauched the public service. Men known to be unworthy have been promoted, while others have been degraded for fidelity to official duty. Public office has been made the means of private profit, and the country has been offended to see a class of men, who boast the friendship of the sworn protectors of the State, amassing fortunes by defrauding the public treasury and by corrupting the servants of the people. In such a crisis of the history of the country, I rejoice that the Convention at St. Louis has so nobly raised the standard of reform. Nothing can be well with us, or with our affairs, until the public conscience, shocked by the enormous evils and abuses which prevail, shall have demanded and compelled an unsparing reformation of our National administration, ‘in its head and in its members.’ In such a reformation the removal of a single officer—even the president—is comparatively a trifling matter, if the system which he represents, and which has fostered him, as he

has fostered it, is suffered to remain. The president alone must not be made the scapegoat for the enormities of the system which infects the public service and threatens the destruction of our institution. In some respects I hold that the present executive has been the victim, rather than the author of that vicious system. Congressional and party leaders have been stronger than the president. No one man could have created it, and the removal of no one man can amend it. It is thoroughly corrupt, and must be swept remorselessly away by the selection of a Government composed of elements entirely new and pledged to radical reform.

“The first work of reform must evidently be the restoration of the normal operation of the Constitution of the United States, with all its amendments. The necessities of war cannot be pleaded in a time of peace. The right of local self-government, as guaranteed by the Constitution and the Union, must be everywhere restored, and the centralized (almost personal) imperialism which has been practiced must be done away, or the first principles of the Republic will be lost.

“Our financial system of expedients must be reformed. Gold and silver are the real standards of values, and our national currency will not be a perfect medium of exchange until it shall be convertible at the pleasure of the holder. As I have heretofore said, no one desires a return to specie payments more earnestly than I do; but I do not believe it will or can be reached in harmony with the interest of the people by artificial measure for the contraction of the currency, any more than I believe wealth or permanent prosperity can be created by an inflation of the currency. The laws of finance can not be disregarded with impunity. The financial policy of the Government—if, indeed, it deserves the name of policy at all—has been in disregard of those laws, and therefore

has disturbed commercial and business confidence as well as hindered a return to specie payments. One feature of that policy was the act of 1875, which has embarrassed the country by the anticipation of a compulsory resumption for which no preparation has been made, and without any assurance that it would be practicable. The repeal of that clause is necessary that the natural operation of financial laws may be restored, that the business of the country may be relieved from its disturbing and depressing influence, and that a return to specie payments may be facilitated by the substitution of a wiser and more prudent legislation, which shall rely mainly on a judicious system of public economies and official retrenchments, and, above all, of the promotion of prosperity in all the industries of the people.

"I do not understand the repeal of the resumption clause of the act of 1875 to be a backward step in our return to specie payment, but the recovery of a false step; and although the repeal may, for a time, be prevented, yet the determination of the Democratic party on this subject has now been distinctly declared. There should be no hinderances put in the way of a return to specie payments. 'As such a hinderance,' says the St. Louis platform, 'we denounce the resumption clause of 1875, and demand its repeal.' I thoroughly believe that by public economy, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, enabling us to accumulate the precious metals, resumption, at an early period, is possible, without producing an 'artificial scarcity of currency,' or destroying public or commercial credit; and that these reforms, together with the restoration of pure government, will restore general confidence, encourage the useful investment of capital, furnish employment to labor, and relieve the country from the 'paralysis of hard times.'

"With the industries of the people there have been frequent interferences. Our platform truly says that many

industries have been impoverished to subsidize a few. Our commerce has been degraded to an inferior position on the high seas, manufactures have been diminished, agriculture has been embarrassed, and the distress of the industrial classes demands that these things shall be reformed. The burdens of the people must be lightened by a great change in our system of public expense. The profligate expenditures, which increased taxation from \$5.00 per capita in 1860 to \$18.00 in 1870, tells its story of our need of fiscal reform.

“Our treaties with foreign powers should also be revised and amended, in so far as they leave citizens of foreign birth in any particular less secure in any country on earth than they would be if they had been born upon our own soil; and the iniquitous Coolie system, which, through the agency of wealthy companies, import Chinese bondmen and establish a species of slavery and interferes with the just rewards of labor on our Pacific Coast, should be utterly abolished.

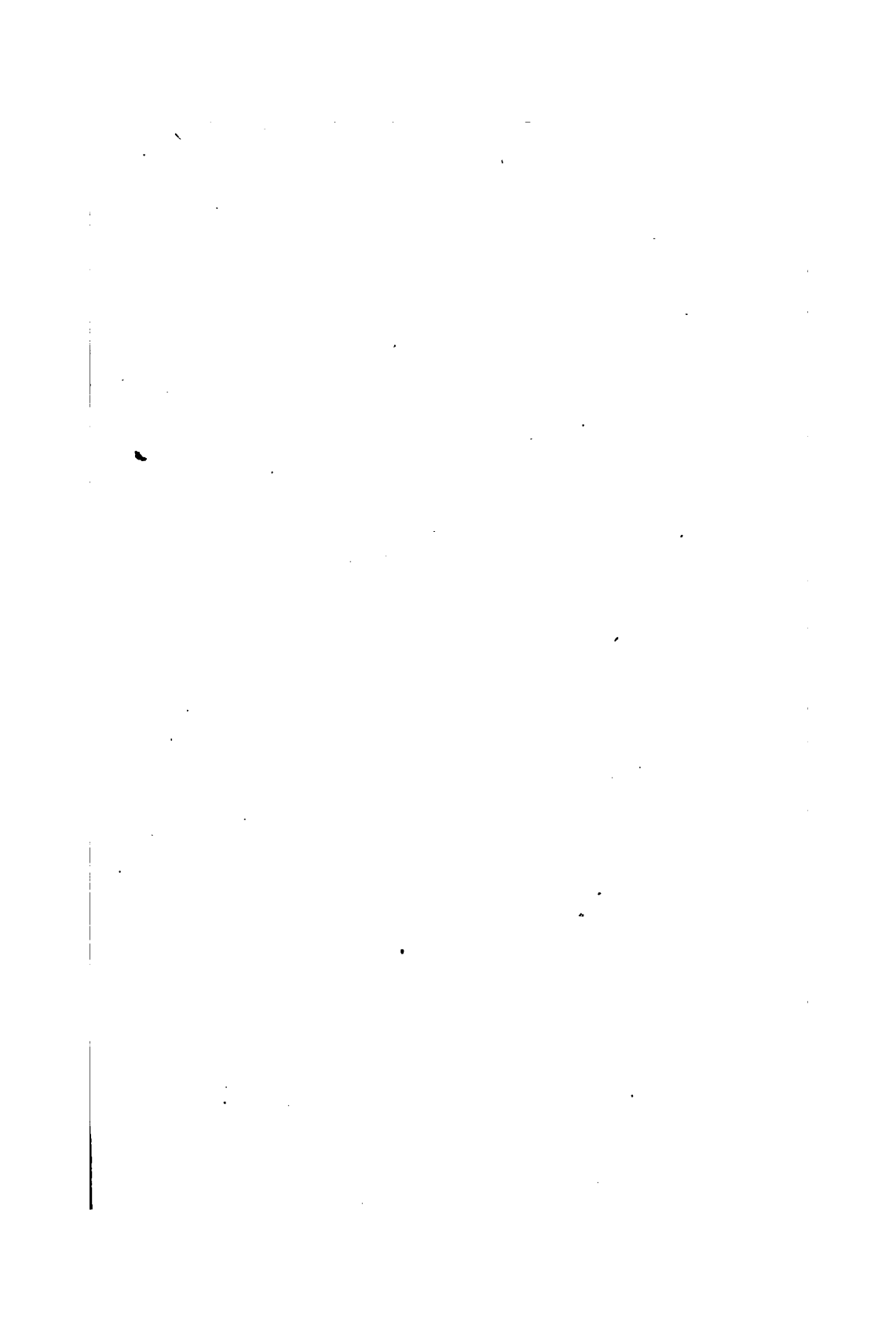
“In the reform of our civil service, I most heartily indorse that section of the platform which declares that the civil service ought not to be ‘subject to change at every election,’ and that it ought not to be made ‘the brief reward of party zeal,’ but ought to be awarded for approved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ. I hope never again to see the cruel and remorseless proscription for political opinions which has disgraced the administration of the last eight years. Bad as the civil service now is, as all know, it has some men of tried integrity and proved ability. Such men, and such only, should be retained in office; but no man should be retained on any consideration who has prostituted his office to the purposes of partisan intimidation or compulsion, or who has furnished money to corrupt the elections. This is done, and has been

done in almost every county in the land. It is a blight upon the morals of the country, and ought to be reformed.

"Of sectional contentions and in respect to our common schools I have only this to say—that, in my judgment, the man or party that would involve our schools in political or sectarian controversy is an enemy to the schools. The common schools are safer under the protecting care of all the people than under the control of any party or sect. They must be neither sectarian nor partisan, and there must be neither division nor misappropriation of the funds for their support. Likewise, I regard the man who would arouse or foster sectional animosities and antagonisms among his countrymen as a dangerous enemy to his country.

"All the people must be made to feel and know that once more there is established a purpose and policy under which all citizens of every condition, race and color will be secure in the enjoyment of whatever rights the Constitution and laws declare or recognize; and that in controversies that may arise the Government is not a partisan, but, within its Constitutional authority, the just and powerful guardian of the rights and safety of all. The strife between the sections and between races will cease as soon as the power for evil is taken away from a party that makes political gain out of scenes of violence and bloodshed, and the Constitutional authority is placed in the hands of men whose political welfare requires that peace and good order shall be preserved everywhere.

"It will be seen, gentleman, that I am in entire accord with the platform of the Convention by which I have been nominated as a candidate for the office of vice-president of the United States. Permit me, in conclusion, to express my satisfaction at being associated with a candidate for the presidency who is first among his equals as a representative of the spirit and achievement of Reform. In his official





CAPITOL BUILDING, AT WASHINGTON.

capacity as the executive of the great State of New York, he has in a comparatively short time, reformed the public service and reduced the public burdens so as to have earned at once the gratitude of his State, and the admiration of the country. The people know him to be thoroughly in earnest; he has shown himself possessed of powers and qualities which fit him, in an eminent degree, for the great work of reformation which this country now needs; and if he shall be chosen by the people to the high office of the president of the United States, I believe that the day of his inauguration will be the beginning of a new era of peace, purity, and prosperity, in all departments of our Government.

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS A. HENDRICKS."

To the Hon. John A. McClernand, chairman, and others,
of the Committee of the National Democratic Convention.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Hendricks Serenaded in Indianapolis.—The Key-Note of the Campaign Struck.—Reform the Rallying Cry.—Strong Criticism of Republican Wastefulness.—Deserved Rebuke of Morton, Cameron and Conkling.—No Confidence in the Republican Party.—Kindly Mention of Rutherford R. Hayes.

Shortly after his nomination to the vice-presidency, Mr. Hendricks was serenaded by his fellow-citizens of Indianapolis, and, in reply to repeated calls for a speech he addressed the vast assemblage that had been drawn together as follows:

"MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: I thank you for this expression of your respect. There is one question occupying the public mind. It is whether the Democratic party ought to be restored to power at this time. Many years ago it was in power for a long period. During that time all concede that the laws were just and equal, fair to capital and just to labor. The people were happy and the country prosperous. For sixteen years now the Republican party has been in power. It is eleven years since the close of the war. Is the country as any one patriotic and true would desire it to be? Is capital secure in its investment? Are the laws equal? Are they munificent in employment? Are the laws equal? Are they not partial? During all this period the Democratic party has not had control of any department or branch of the public service. At this session of Congress our party has a decided

majority in the House. Is it well or is it ill for the country that it is so? There may be much to criticise in what has been said and done in the House, but this stands prominently forth: That the investigations which it has conducted have developed a corruption in the public service horrible to contemplate—worse, perhaps, than that which impaired the strength and destroyed the fortunes of France under Louis Napoleon before and during the Prussian war. It is now shown so that everybody knows it, that these corruptions and partialities have prevailed for many years, but they remained concealed like a festering disease at the bone, until a Democratic House applied the knife. The result of all this was that the people, shocked at what they had not supposed to exist, but which they now see, are determined to restore good government.

“Dare any frank and honest man say that in these investigations the House has not done good work for the country? Whatever criticism may be made on what has been said and done in the House, this is conceded: That in the appropriation bills it has reduced the public expenditures from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000. To accomplish this retrenchment it has maintained a dreadful contest with the Senate, but I understand that in the main it has prevailed, although but yesterday in the Senate, the action was denounced as revolutionary. If their corruption be overthrown and the expenditures reduced from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000, will any one question that it was well for the country that two years ago a Democratic House was chosen?

“A distinguished citizen of the government of New York has been nominated for the presidency. Is his election not also in the interests of the people? He does not come with assurances upon the lips alone, but the result of his labor, both in the city of New York and as governor of the State attest his purpose to strike a strong and efficacious blow at

corruption and fraud. I would not say a word against Governor Hayes. But as the president of the Republican party, will he, let me inquire, be able to oppose successfully Governor Morton's power in Indiana, Cameron's sway in Pennsylvania, or Conkling's lordship in New York? They say he is an honest man. Was not the same said of General Grant four years ago? In a speech which I made in the academy of music—the first in my canvass for governor—I said that if left alone Grant would make a better president, but the surroundings, the influences, and the political power that would control his administration would bring upon the people the ills which we now deplore."

In all these ideas Governor Hendricks was in perfect accord with the distinguished statesman who held the first place on the Democratic ticket in 1876, and who spoke thus of the need of reform in his letter of acceptance:

"The necessity of a reform 'in the scale of public expense—Federal, State and Municipal'—and 'in the modes of Federal taxation,' justifies all the prominence given to it in the declaration of the St. Louis Convention.

"The present depression in all the business and industries of the people, which is depriving labor of its employment and carrying want into so many homes, had its principal cause in excessive governmental consumption. Under the illusions of a specious prosperity, engendered by the false policies of the Federal Government, a waste of capital has been going on ever since the peace of 1865, which could only end in universal disaster.

"The Federal taxes of the last eleven years reach the gigantic sum of \$4,500,000,000. Local taxation has amounted to two-thirds as much more. The vast aggregate is not less than \$7,500,000,000.

"This enormous taxation followed a civil conflict that had

greatly impaired our aggregate wealth, and had made a prompt reduction of expenses indispensable. '

"It was aggravated by most unscientific and ill-adjusted methods of taxation that increased the sacrifices of the people far beyond the receipts of the treasury.

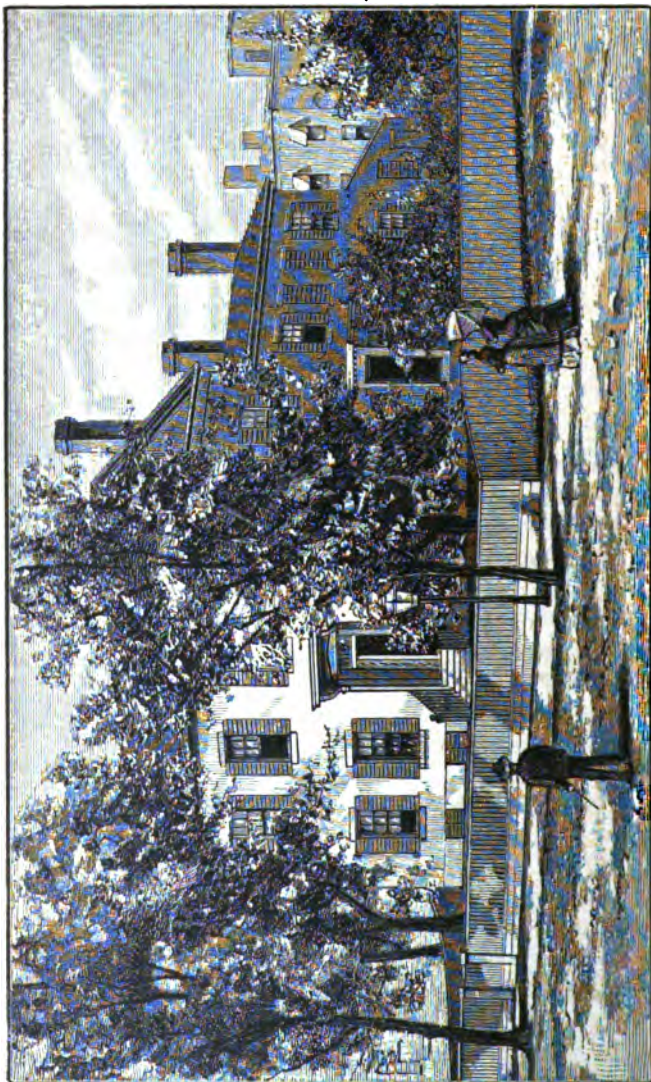
"It was aggravated, moreover, by a financial policy which tended to diminish the energy, skill and economy of production and the frugality of private consumption, and induced miscalculation in business and an unremunerative use of capital and labor.

"Even in prosperous times the daily wants of industrious communities press closely upon their daily earnings. The margin of possible national savings is at best a small per centage of national earnings. Yet now, for these eleven years, Governmental consumption has been a larger portion of the national earnings than the whole people can possibly save even in prosperous times for all new investments.

"The consequence of these errors are now a present public calamity. But they were never doubtful, never invisible. They were necessary and inevitable, and were foreseen and depicted when the waves of that fictitious prosperity ran highest. In a speech made by me on the 24th of September, 1868, it was said of these taxes: They bear heavily upon every man's income, upon every industry and every business in the country, and year by year they are destined to press still more heavily unless we arrest the system that gives rise to them. It was comparatively easy, when values were doubling under repeated issues of legal tender paper money, to pay out of the froth of our growing and apparent wealth these taxes, but when values recede and sink towards their natural scale the tax-gatherer takes from us not only our income, not only our profits, but also a portion of our capital. * * * I do not wish to exaggerate or alarm; I simply say that we cannot afford the

costly and ruinous policy of the radical majority of Congress. We cannot afford that policy towards the South. We cannot afford the magnificent and oppressive centralism into which our Government is being converted. We cannot afford the present magnificent scale of taxation."

The author has quoted thus liberally these letters, because the issue of which they treat—Reform is one that the Democratic party has given considerable prominence to this year, and people will naturally desire to know how Mr. Hendricks stood on that question in 1876.



RESIDENCE OF HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Later Career of Mr. Hendricks.—His Appearance as a Delegate in the Democratic Convention.—His Speech Nominating Hon. Joseph E. McDonald for the Presidency.—Greeted with a Whirlwind of Applause.—Cheers for the Old Ticket.

When the time approached for the two great political parties to take preliminary steps for the campaign of this year, and when rumor was busy in designating the men who were apt to receive the nominations of their respective parties, Thomas Andrews Hendricks, as might naturally be supposed, was one of the prominent individuals named as the probable standard-bearer of the Democracy. His thirty-six years of public life, filled as they were with records of glorious services rendered his party; his uniform success, which, though it was sometimes belated, never failed to eventually arrive gave him a prominence in the councils of the Democratic party. For months prior to the holding of the Chicago Convention there was, as is well known to all, no inconsiderable talk of putting in nomination the old ticket, Tilden and Hendricks, which won so handily eight years ago. While such talk was heard, of course Mr. Hendricks was mentioned only in connection with the second place on the Democratic ticket. But Mr. Tilden's feeble health, and the repeated declarations of his friends to the effect that under no consideration would he consent to make the fight this year, gave Mr. Hendricks a commanding claim for the presidential nomination in many localities, and not a

few delegates went to Chicago with the hope that that honor might come to him, and with the determination also of voting for him should his name be presented to the convention.

Mr. Hendricks was himself chosen a delegate to Chicago from Indiana, and, as the preference of the Hoosier State was its favorite son, Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, the task of presenting that gentleman's name to the delegates was intrusted to Mr. Hendricks. This was a delicate undertaking for him to perform. He knew that a great many of the men who composed the Convention favored his own nomination and stood ready to vote for him, should his name be presented. When, therefore, he rose to nominate the man to whom the Indiana delegates were pledged, the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, his speech was genuine in its praise of "Old Saddlebags," and the orator kept nothing back that might in any way commend Mr. McDonald to the good will of the convention. He recognized that it was a duty intrusted to him to commend Mr. McDonald to the assembled Democracy, and right manfully and loyally, wholly and unreservedly he strove to accomplish that duty to the best of his great ability.

On the day set apart by the convention for the nomination of candidates, when the State of Indiana had been reached, Mr. Hendricks was escorted to the platform by two members of the Indiana delegation, and received an ovation, the delegates and audience rising to their feet, waving hats and handkerchiefs in their enthusiasm, while cheers for Tilden and Hendrick were given.

Rising and facing the delegates, Mr. Hendricks nominated Mr. McDonald, in the following eloquent speech :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :
This is my first experience as a delegate in the National Convention, and as I rise to present the name of a distin-

gnished citizen of Indiana for your consideration in connection with the office of president of the United States, I feel the delicacy and the great responsibility of the duty I have undertaken. The people now demand a change in the management of Federal affairs, and if this convention will but give them half an opportunity they will execute that purpose in the election of a president in the coming fall. I believe the nominee of this convention will soon become the chosen president of the United States. He will be the first inaugurated Democratic president for twenty-four years. He will come in burdened with all the duties that usually belong to that high office, and in addition such duties and delicate responsibilities as belong to the transfer of public affairs from the representatives of one party to the representatives of another after long control by the latter. May I ask your attention while I briefly refer to some of the labors and responsibilities that will require courage, talent, and strength on the part of the next president of the United States?

The Constitution imposes upon the president the duty of making such recommendations to Congress of such measures as he shall deem important and necessary. How delicate and important that duty becomes. The president is clothed with this authority by the Constitution. The Constitution imposing it upon him, Congress will heed his recommendations with great care. When Congress convened last December, the revenues were annually accumulating in excess of the demands of economical government at the rate of full fifty millions a year, and that, too, under a revenue system that had been adjusted within one year by the Republican party. When accumulated gold overflows the vaults of the treasury and tempts to extravagant, wasteful, and sometimes corrupt legislation, who can question that revenue reform is the first duty of a successful party, and if the Democratic House had been re-enforced by a president in harmony with it, recommending a well-considered measure of revenue reform, eliminating the vices that nestle in existing laws, and reducing very largely the amount of the revenues, does any man doubt that now there would have been a great relief from the burden of excessive taxation, and that we would have had a system of revenue resting

upon justice and fair play? Foremost among the duties and obligations which this great convention will admonish its nominee to represent is that the laws be executed, but, also, that the public expenditures be greatly reduced.

In former times, when the sensibilities of the people became offended by official corruption, they themselves undertook the work of reform. I dare say many of you bear it in memory that an entire administration went down, because of a defalcation or embezzlement of \$62,000. That was but forty years ago, and that was the only case that occurred of a defalcation during that administration. Yet so fearful was the punishment by the people that the party went from power for the time being. Who expects that a party long in power, with all the emoluments of public position received and enjoyed by its followers and retainers, can reform itself? The recent case to which I have referred is very instructive. In that testimony the secretary said that a year ago he had received a letter informing him of the misconduct of one of the employés, and that but very recently he had been told of two others engaged in nefarious transactions, but, he said to the committee, so earnest was the pressure, especially of members of Congress, for the re-appointment of the head of the bureau that he could not believe it possible that his bureau was in the condition in which he found it at last. The offenses against the public service are numerous—many of them flagrant. They must be pursued to their hiding-places. They must be brought forth, exposed, and punished, and the agents that the president shall employ—I mean the new president that you are to nominate here—the agents that he shall employ must have none to shield, nothing to conceal. Let fidelity and competency once more on the part of the employés, and justice and fair play, so far as the people of the county are concerned, be observed and reforms will follow.

Now, Mr. President, I hope the new administration will hold itself instructed by the sentiment of 1876, in opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidation, in one, and thus creates, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism.

I have, Mr. President and gentlemen, but one other sentiment to refer to, before I shall call your attention to

the claims which I propose to suggest for a man that I will name. And in respect to this sentiment no one is responsible but myself. Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? Must blood and treasure always flow before international controversies can be settled? Controversies will arise; they are inevitable; but the civilization of this age demands that they be referred to the disinterested States for settlement by friendly arbitration. The intervening ocean protects our young Republic from the menace of European arms. It will be a beautiful spectacle if this Republic, so strong and so secure, shall lead the nations in a movement for permanent peace, and the relief of the people everywhere from the maintenance of standing armies and ships of war. The best act of General Grant's administration was the settlement by arbitration of the controversies touching the Alabama. That settlement stands in bright and glorious contrast in our history to the use that he himself made of our own army when he beleaguered the Capital that men might have offices to which they were never elected.

Mr. President and gentlemen, I have to suggest for your consideration a citizen of the State of Indiana, the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald. I thank you all for the reception which you have given to his name. Born in an adjoining State, Indiana became his home when but a boy. He learned a trade, and thus made himself independent and very respectable. And after that he pursued his studies with such opportunities as he had, and finally prepared himself for the great profession of the law. And from the time that he took his stand in the courthouse of his county until the present, when he may stand, it may be, in the Supreme Court of the United States, he has been the peer of the best of that profession in the West.

First selected by the district in which he lives to prosecute the pleas of the State; afterwards chosen by the State to represent her as attorney-general; next—not next to that, but before that—he went, from his own district in which he was raised from boyhood, up to the Congress of the United States. And afterwards the people of the whole State sent him as a senator to Washington. Faithfully, diligently, ably for six years he represented Indiana in the

Senate. And he was welcomed by the ablest of the senators as their peer.

Mr. McDonald has been a student of the learning that has made the Democracy of the United States what it is to-day. He is familiar with the writings of the fathers; and his opinions are based upon the sentiments that came to him from their pages. He is of clear perception, of strong judgment, of earnest convictions, fair-minded and just. No man who will have occasion to go to the White House when he shall be the president, if you shall honor him with your nomination—no man will have occasion to find fault with the candid and frank manner of his reception.

Gentlemen of the convention, I do not speak for Mr. McDonald alone; I do not speak for myself alone; I do not speak alone for these thirty gentlemen that have directed me to stand here and speak for them; I speak for a mighty State. Some ten days ago a Democracy that never steps backward, a Democracy that meets the contest when and where it may come, instructed these thirty gentlemen and myself to say to you that Joseph E. McDonald is worthy of your consideration as the candidate for president of the United States. And what is Indiana, and what is the Democracy of Indiana? This mighty State, that is neither of the East nor yet of the West, but sitting midway between the East and the West, resting upon the Ohio, associating in commerce, in trade, and in good neighborhood with the adjoining States, this great State has said to us, "Present the name of Mr. McDonald to the greatest convention the world has ever seen." And for Indiana I make my appeal to you to-day. What greeting will you give to Indiana? For twenty-five years, during which I have had some responsible connection with that great party, she has been without strife or discord in her ranks. She has stood always as one man, and when the election-days have come the tread of her Democracy has been as the tread of one regiment when the hour of battle is at hand.

You know very well gentlemen, that Indiana makes no question whether your candidate shall live in New York, or Delaware, or Kentucky; you know very well that when the crisis comes Indiana will give him her vote. But I want to know, are you going to make it against Indiana

because she is so faithful, because she will not hesitate? Are you to say, from election to election, from convention to convention, "we need not trouble about that solid State; she is all right; her vote will go well at the election; we must take care—and just by the way of illustration—we must take care of New York"? Is that where, as the representatives of the Democracy of Indiana, these thirty gentlemen and myself have to stand in your presence? We ask, not a favor, because Indiana is true always; but we ask that that shall not come in judgment against us. When many of your states did hesitate, when the war had passed, and the smoke of the battle had gone away and the sound of guns upon the plains and among the mountains had ceased, and you struggled, and we struggled, Indiana was the first State to carry the banner of Democracy in triumph.

And now, gentlemen, a man of good attainments and high character, indorsed by a mighty State, I present his name to you, and all that I ask is justice. The humblest of us all may ask that much; and when it shall come to be that in a Democratic convention justice may not be asked, then, perhaps, I will better renew the practices of the past, and not come to conventions at all. I thank you, my brother Democrats, I thank you Mr. Chairman, for the attention that you have given me while I have spoken for a friend.

When Mr. Hendricks took the platform to make the foregoing speech, the scene that ensued beggared description. The whole Convention rose up and cheered him to the echo. All throughout his oration, and especially at its strongest passages, the applause was hearty and prolonged, and when Mr. Hendricks concluded his eloquent address, the Convention rose again *en masse* and cheered him until he had taken his seat and the chairman called for order.

CHAPTER XIV.

Notified of his Nomination.—The Democratic Committee Call on Governor Hendricks.—Impressive Scenes in the Grand Union Hotel.—Notable Persons Present.—Chairman Vilas' Speech.—The Democratic Address.—Mr. Hendricks' Reply.—His Election an Act of Retributive Justice.

Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks arrived at the Grand Union hotel, Saratoga, on the morning of the 29th of July. On the same day the Democratic notification committee called upon Governor Grover Cleveland at the executive mansion in Albany, and informed him of his unanimous nomination by the Democratic party to the presidency. On the next day, the 30th, the committee proceeded to Saratoga to acquaint ex-Governor Hendricks of his nomination to the vice-presidency. After arriving at Saratoga the committee were in session nearly an hour. Messrs. Vilas, Hooker, Walter and Stockton were appointed a sub-committee to ascertain Governor Hendricks' pleasure as to the time of notification. They reported that two o'clock would suit his convenience, and that time was fixed.

Long before the time arrived for the notification ceremony to take place, the beautiful parlor of the hotel was filled with handsomely dressed ladies and gentlemen, seated in a circle around the place reserved for the committee. At 2.10 o'clock, amid loud applause from the assembled guests, the committee marched in and stood in a circle, followed immediately after by Mr. Hendricks. It was a much more picturesque scene than was witnessed at the executive mansion

the previous day. Conspicuous among the large concourse of spectators were Hon. David Davis and wife. Mr. Hendricks, accompanied by Mrs. Hendricks, came into the parlor shortly after two o'clock. They were greeted with clapping of hands.

After the applause that greeted the entrance of Governor Hendricks and his lady had subsided, and when the guests had all taken their places, Chairman Vilas, taking his position in front of the vice-president, informed him of his nomination in an impressive speech, closing as follows :

"In finishing the grateful office which the partial favor of these gentlemen, my distinguished associates, has assigned me, permit us, one and all, to express the highest esteem and regard. In a more enduring execution of its duty the committee have prepared and personally signed a written communication which the secretary will now read."

Mr. Bell, the secretary, then read the address signed by all the committee.

The speech of Chairman Vilas and the subsequent address read by Secretary Bell, evoked the greatest enthusiasm, and when the applause had in a manner been stilled, Mr. Hendricks made the following forcible and graceful reply :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE :
I cannot realize that a man should ever stand in the presence of a committee representing a more august body of men than that which you represent. In the language of another, "the convention was large in numbers, august in culture, and patriotic in sentiments," and may I not add to that that because of the power and the greatness and the virtues of the party which it represented it was itself in every respect a very great convention. The delegates came from all the States and territories, and I believe, too, from the District of Columbia. They came clothed with authority to express judgment and opinion upon all those questions which are not settled by constitutional law, for the purpose of passing upon those questions and selecting a ticket for the people.

That convention assembled. They decided upon the principles that they would adopt as a platform; they selected the candidates that they would propose to the party for their support, and that convention's work was theirs. I have not reached the period when it is proper for me to consider the strength and force of the statements made in the platform. It is enough for me to know that it comes at your hands from that convention addressed to my patriotic devotion to the Democratic party.

I appreciate the honor that is done me. I need not question that. But at the same time that I accept the honor from you and from the convention, I feel that the duties and responsibility of the office rest upon me also. I know that sometimes it is understood that this particular office, that of vice-president, does not involve much responsibility, and as a general thing that is so, but sometimes it comes to represent very great responsibilities, and it may be so in the near future, for at this time the Senate of the United States stands almost equally divided between the two great parties, and it may be that those two great parties shall so exactly differ that the vice-president of the United States shall have to decide upon questions of law by the exercise of the casting vote.

The responsibility would then become very great. It would not then be the responsibility of representing a State or a district. It would be the responsibility of representing the whole country and the obligation would be to the judgment of the whole country, and that vote when thus cast should be in obedience to the just expectations and requirements of the people of the United States. It might be, gentlemen, that upon another occasion great responsibility would attach to this office. It might occur that under circumstances of some difficulty—I don't think it will be next election, but it may occur under circumstances of some difficulty—the president of the Senate will have to take his part in the counting of the electoral vote, and allow me to say that that duty is not to be discharged in obedience to any set of men or to any party, but in obedience to a higher authority.

Gentlemen, you have referred to the fact that I am honored by this nomination in a very special degree. I accept the suggestion that in this candidacy I will represent the

right of the people to choose their own rulers, that right that is above all, that lies beneath all; for if all the people are denied the right to choose their own officers according to their own judgment, what shall become of the rights of the people at all? What shall become of free government if the people select not their officers? How shall they control the laws, their administration and their execution? So that in suggesting that in this candidacy I represent that right of the people as you have suggested, a great honor has devolved upon me by the confidence of the convention. As soon as it may be convenient and possible to do so, I will address you more formally in respect to the letter you have given me. I thank you, gentlemen.

When Governor Hendricks had concluded his eloquent remarks, he was greeted with a round of hearty applause, and formally introduced to each member of the notification committee. Then ensued a time of general hand-shaking, in which the committee individually assured Governor Hendricks of their esteem and good wishes, and pledged him their warmest support. When this ceremony was over the assembled audience paid their respects to Mr. Hendricks and his wife, and then quietly dispersed. Among those present were very many prominent people.

This concludes the public career of Hon. Thomas Andrews Hendricks, ex-congressman, ex-senator, and ex-governor, up to the time when this book goes to press. The writer, therefore, leaves his work with those who shall read these pages, but feels the fullest confidence that any citizen who peruses this short and imperfect sketch of Mr. Hendricks' life, will recognize in him a statesman of broad views, clear and liberal principles, and a persistent advocate of that reform which is so sadly needed in the administration of our public affairs to-day. Once elected to the vice-presidency, he was defrauded of that office by the flagrantly unjust decision of a partisan Electoral Commis-

sion, and he should be, and we have no doubt he will be, triumphantly elected vice-president on the fourth day of next November, not alone for his eminent fitness for the office for which he is now a candidate, but also as an act of retributive justice.

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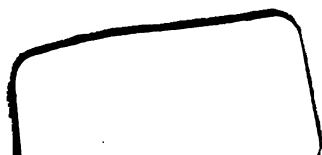
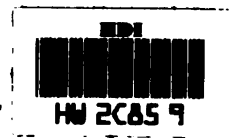
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